

Ten Studies by Alexander Kazhdan

The great Byzantinist, Alexander Kazhdan, published these ten articles during the years 1971 and 1998. They reflect the depth and range of his interests and the creative methodology that he was renowned for.

[Армяно-византийские заметки \[Armeno-Byzantine Notes\]](#), Каждан, А. П. Պատմա-քանասիրական հանդես [Historico-Philological Journal], 4(1971) pp. 93-106, in 14 pdf pages.

[The Armenians in the Byzantine Ruling Class Predominantly in the Ninth Through Twelfth Centuries](#), from *Medieval Armenian Culture* (Chico, CA, 1983), Thomas J. Samuelian and Michael E. Stone, editors, pp. 439-451, in 15 pdf pages.

[Some Little-Known or Misinterpreted Evidence about Kievan Rus' in Twelfth-Century Greek Sources](#), from *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, Vol. 7, Okeanos: Essays presented to Ihor Ševčenko on his Sixtieth Birthday by his Colleagues and Students (1983), pp. 344-358, in 16 pdf pages.

[The Image of the Medical Doctor in Byzantine Literature of the Tenth to Twelfth Centuries](#), from *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 38, Symposium on Byzantine Medicine (1984), pp. 43-51, in 10 pdf pages.

[Rus'-Byzantine Princely Marriages in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries](#), from *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, Vol. 12/13, Proceedings of the International Congress Commemorating the Millennium of Christianity in Rus'-Ukraine (1988/1989), pp. 414-429, in 17 pdf pages.

[Byzantine Hagiography and Sex in the Fifth to Twelfth Centuries](#), from *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 44 (1990), pp. 131-143, in 14 pdf pages.

[Byzantine Hagiographical Texts as Sources on Art](#), by Alexander Kazhdan and Henry Maguire from *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 45 (1991), pp. 1-22, in 23 pdf pages.

[State, Feudal, and Private Economy in Byzantium](#), from *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 47 (1993), pp. 83-100, in 19 pdf pages.

[The Italian and Late Byzantine City](#), from *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 49, Symposium on Byzantium and the Italians, 13th-15th Centuries (1995), pp. 1-22, in 23 pdf pages.

[Women at Home](#), from *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 52 (1998), pp. 1-17, in 18 pdf pages.

Other important works by Kazhdan are available for reading and/or downloading at Internet Archive (archive.org):

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АРМЯНО-ВИЗАНТИЙСКИЕ ЗАМЕТКИ

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Доктор историч. наук А. П. КАЖДАН (Москва)

Хорошо известно, что в XI—XII вв. большое количество армянских семей входило в состав господствующего класса Византийской империи¹. Можно предполагать, что не менее 10% византийской знати было армянами.

Судьбы армяно-византийской аристократии были предметом специального рассмотрения Н. Адонца, работы которого сравнительно недавно переизданы отдельной книгой². Они несомненно должны лечь в основу всякого исследования на эту тему. Однако вышедшие в 20-е и 30-е годы статьи Адонца естественно нуждаются в настоящее время в дополнениях и поправках.

1. Сенекеримы

В исторической литературе неоднократно освещалась судьба Сенекерима Арцруни и его ближайших потомков³. Менее известно, что ряд Сенахиримов (Сенекеримов) входил в состав византийской знати на протяжении XII в.

Никита Хониат упоминает полководца Сенахирима, действовавшего в самом начале XIII в.⁴ Ч. Брэнд называет его «губернатором Ксанфии»⁵, но текст Хониата не дает для этого оснований. Этот же Сенахирим или его соименник был в конце 1204 г. наместником Никополя в Эпире⁶. Зоя Сенахерина, монахиня, известна по печати, датированной XI—XII вв.⁷

Особенно интересно в этой связи письмо Феофилакта Ифеста, архиепископа болгарского на рубеже XI и XII в., епископу Коркиры, где ар-

¹ К. Н. Юзбашян, Некоторые проблемы изучения армяно-византийских отношений. «Вестник общ. наук АН Арм. ССР», 1971, № 3, стр. 41.

² N. Adontz, *Études arméno-byzantines*. Lisbonne, 1965. Ср. еще S. Der-Nersessian, *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire*. Cambr. Mass., 1945; P. Charanis, *The Armenians in the Byzantine Empire*. Lisboa, 1963.

³ См., например, С. Г. Агаджанов, К. Н. Юзбашян. К истории тюркских набегов на Армению в XI в. «Палест. сб.», 1965, стр. 149—152; В. К. Исканян. О переселении Арцрунидов. «Ист.-филол. журн.», 1965, № 3, стр. 67—82 (на арм. яз.); В. Вараданян, Васпураканское царство Арцрунидов. 908—1021 (на арм. яз.). Ереван, 1969, стр. 267 и сл.

⁴ Nicetas Choniata, *Historia*. Bonnae, 1835, стр. 791, 20.

⁵ Ch. Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West. 1180—1204*. Cambr. Mass., 1968, стр. 352, примеч. 68.

⁶ D. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epirus*. Oxf., 1957, стр. 13.

⁷ V. Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux de l'Empire Byzantin*. V, 2. Paris, 1965, No 1477.

хнепископ жалуется на Сенахирима Ассирийца, которого произвела на погибель Феофилакт Месопотамия⁸. Армянская традиция, засвидетельствованная Фомой Арцруни в X в., связывает жителей Сасуна с потомками Синхериба (Сенахирима), царя Ассирии⁹, и вполне вероятно, что Феофилакт под ассирийцем из Месопотамии понимает кого-то из потомков Сенекерима Арцруни или какого-то другого армянского князя, носившего то же имя. Это тем более вероятно, что его соратником, по словам Феофилакta, был человек, ненавидевший христиан и не допускавший поклонения богородице¹⁰, возможно, павликианин.

2. Рубениды

История взаимоотношений первых Рубенидов с Византией содержит ряд темных мест.

В Девольском договоре 1108 г. Феодор Рупений (Торос I Рубенид) и его брат названы «людьми» византийского императора¹¹, его вассалами. Трудность понимания этого места коренится в словах Анны *ἡγεμονὶς ἐν Ἑλλάδι*. Следует ли принять традиционное толкование этого места, считая, что Рубениды были вассалами в 1108 г., или же Анна хочет сказать, что они прежде были вассалами царя? Г. Микаелян решительно утверждает, что Торос и его брат вообще не были вассалами императора¹². Основанием служит ему рассказ о мщении Тороса братьям Мандалам, убийцам Гагика Анийского. На наш взгляд, напротив, передаваемые Матфеем Эдесским слова одного из Мандалов, угрожавшего, что Торосу придется дать отчет царю ромеев¹³, скорее свидетельствуют о зависимости Рубенидов от империи. Надпись на храме в Аназарбе титулует Тороса севастом¹⁴.

О пребывании Рубена и Тороса II, сыновей Левона I, в Константинополе подробно рассказывает Вахрам Эдесский. Они были взяты в плен Иоанном II (1118—1143), который держал их некоторое время в тюрьме, а затем старался приблизить к себе. Они разделяли трапезу императора и охотились вместе с ним. Рубен быстро отличился на императорской службе. Его возвышение вызвало зависть воинов, и он был

⁸ J. P. Migne, *Patrologia graeca*, t. 127, col. 397 B. Не тождествен ли он Феодору Сенекериму, «ближнему» Алексея I, выполнявшему поручения фискального характера? См. L. Petit, *Actes de Xénophon*, «Виз. врем.», X, 1903. Приложение, № 1. 92—93, 106—107.

⁹ N. Adontz, *Études...*, стр. 43.

¹⁰ J. P. Migne, *Patrol. gr.*, t. 127, col. 397 C.

¹¹ Anne Comnène, *Alexiade*, t. III, Paris, 1945, стр. 134. 3—5.

¹² Г. Микаелян, *История Киликийского армянского государства*, Ереван, 1952, стр. 96.

¹³ Matthieu d'Edesse, *Chronique*, Paris, 1858, стр. 278. Тот же рассказ повторяет Смбаг Комнетабль (см. «Recueil des historiens des croisades. Documents arméniens», t. I, стр. 613).

¹⁴ W. H. Rüdiger-Collenberg, *The Rupenides, Hethumides and Lusignans*, Paris, 1963, стр. 50. И Торос, и его отец Константин были женаты на гречанках (там же, стр. 47—49).

убит около 1140 г. О Торосе мы слышим, что он жил во дворце и служил в армии¹⁵.

По словам византийского историка Киннама, знатный армянин Тероз долгое время находился в плену у Иоанна II. Он бежал из Константинополя, когда император направился походом в Исаврию¹⁶. Смбат Комнетабль также относит бегство Тороса к концу правления Иоанна II: он сообщает, что Иоанн послал Тороса с поручением в Константинополь из Киликии, где император находился с войсками¹⁷. Другие армянские авторы относят бегство Тороса уже ко времени после смерти Иоанна II. Вахрам знает несколько версий этого события: одну из них рассказывали лица, близкие к императорскому двору. По их словам, Торос жил некоторое время в Константинополе при Мануиле I и женился там на «греческой княжне». Вместе с женой он получил и сокровища, которые увез, покидая империю¹⁸.

Рубениды не прижились при византийском дворе, но все же Торос носил титул севаста¹⁹. Нельзя ли предположить, что ему принадлежала печать севаста Феодора Рупения?²⁰

Дочь Тороса вышла замуж за Исаака Комнина, наместника Киликии и будущего правителя Кипра²¹.

3. Куртикии

Н. Адонц лишь мимоходом упоминает эту семью²².

Куртикии переселились в Византию, видимо, при Василии I. В мятеже 913 г. участвовал Куртикий, прямо названный в хронике армянином²³. В XI в. Куртикии эллинизировались: упоминая Василия Куртикия, Анна Комнина не вспоминает об армянском прошлом этой семьи; для нее Василий—знатный воин из Адрианополя²⁴, для ее мужа—македонец²⁵. При Алексее I Василий—один из ведущих полководцев²⁶.

¹⁵ „Recueil...“, t. I, стр. 501—503.

¹⁶ Ioannes Cinnamus, Epitome. Bonnae, 1836, стр. 121. 20—23.

¹⁷ „Recueil...“, t. I, стр. 618.

¹⁸ Там же, стр. 503.

¹⁹ S. Der-Nersessian, The Armenian Chronicle of the Constable Smpad or of the „Royal historian“. „Dumbarton Oaks Papers“, 13, 1959, стр. 147.

²⁰ V. Laurent, Les bulles metriques dans la sigillographie byzantine. Athènes-Bucarest, 1932—1937, No 113. По сообщению В. С. Шандровской, экземпляр этой печати хранится в Эрмитаже. Шандровская склоняется к тому, что он принадлежал Торосу I.

²¹ W. H. Rudt de Collenberg, L'empereur Isaac de Chypre et sa fille (1155—1207). „Byzantion“, 36, 1968, стр. 130 и сл.

²² N. Adontz, Études..., стр. 176, 226, 386.

²³ Theophanes Continuatus, Bonnae, 1838, стр. 383. 11, 376.6.

²⁴ Anne Comnène, t. II, стр. 26. 12—15.

²⁵ Nicephorus Bryennius, Commentarii. Bonnae, 1836, стр. 154.12.

²⁶ A. Hohlweg, Beiträge zur Verwaltungsgeschichte des Oströmischen Reiches unter den Komnenen. München, 1965, стр. 129. Возможно, что он идентичен тому Куртикию, который возглавлял посольство к султану (Anne Comnène, t. II, стр. 76.23).

Константин Куртикий был некоторое время мужем Феодоры, дочери Алексея¹²⁷. Какой-то Куртикий участвовал в заговоре против Алексея¹²⁸. В XII в. византийские Куртикии не занимали видного положения: этим временем лишь датируется глухая печать некоего Куртикия¹²⁹. Но в начале XII в. Куртикии всплывают в Киликийской Армении — один из них был наместником Гох-Василия — Михаил Сириец обвинял его во враждебном отношении к сирийцам и монахам¹³⁰.

4. Врахамии/Вахрамии

Многие Врахамии известны по сигиллографическим материалам. Помимо упомянутых Адонцем¹³¹, можно указать печать Василия, не содержащую каких-либо данных о ее владельце¹³², Михаила-стратига¹³³ и Кали Врахамии, протоспафарисы и стратигисы¹³⁴, т. е. жены какого-то протоспафария и стратига.

Печать Вахрама-архонта, которую издатель Г. Шломберже датировал XI в., Адонц отнес к более раннему времени и атрибуировал князю Вахраму, основателю фамилии¹³⁵. Напротив, В. Лоран считает, что печать — второй половины XI в. и что ее владельцем был Филарет Врахамий, независимый правитель Антиохии и соседних областей¹³⁶. Обе атрибуции весьма рискованные.

В анонимной сирийской хронике упомянуты сыновья Филарета-доместика, христиане (так они названы в отличие от монофиситов — Гох-Василия и других армянских князей), которые владели Марашем и Черной горой¹³⁷. Адонц, полемизируя с Ж. Лораном, отвергал возможность незнатного происхождения Филарета и называл его «князем, чья семья была известна по меньшей мере сто лет»¹³⁸. Он, к сожалению, не остановился в этой связи на прямом сообщении Михаила Сирийца, по словам которого Филарет был армянином из селения Шурбаз, вступившим в шайку разбойников из-под Мараша¹³⁹.

¹²⁷ А. П. Каждан, Еще раз о Кушаме и Никите Хоннате. «Byzantinoslavica», 24, 1963, стр. 9, примеч. 23.

¹²⁸ Anne Compté, t. III, стр. 69, 20. Сохранилась печать монахини Дукены-Куртикии, датируемая концом XI в. V. Laurent, Le corpus... V, 2, No 1464.

¹²⁹ V. Laurent, Les bulles métriques..., No 604.

¹³⁰ Michel le Syrien, Chronique, t. III, Paris, 1906, стр. 199.

¹³¹ N. Adontz, Études..., стр. 152.

¹³² Н. А. Мушмов, Византийские оловянные печати от собрания на Народный музей. «Изв. на Българ. археол. инст.», 5, 1928/9, стр. 345.

¹³³ V. Laurent, Les sceaux byzantins du Médailleur Vatican, Città del Vaticano, 1962, стр. 116, примеч. 3.

¹³⁴ N. Banescu, Notes de sigillographie et de prosopographie byzantine. „Acad. Roum. Bull. de la sect. hist.“, 27, 1946, стр. 46.

¹³⁵ N. Adontz, Études..., стр. 152.

¹³⁶ V. Laurent, Les sceaux byzantins..., стр. 117, № 2.

¹³⁷ A. S. Tritton, H. A. R. Gibb, The First and the Second Crusades from an Anonymous Syriac Chronicle. „Journal of the R. Asiatic Society“, 1933, Jan., стр. 72 f.

¹³⁸ N. Adontz, Études..., стр. 148.

¹³⁹ Michel le Syrien, Chronique, t. III, стр. 173.

Титулатура Филарета также нуждается в уточнении. По словам Зонары, Роман IV поставил Филарета стратигом⁴⁰, по Продолжателю Скилицы — стратигом-автократором⁴¹, по Анне Комнин — доместиком⁴². На одной из печатей он назван протокуропалатом и доместиком, но, возможно, эти титулы он получил уже от Никифора III⁴³.

Михаил Сириец сообщает, что император пожаловал Филарету титул «августа», т. е. севаста (см. прим. 39). По мнению В. Лорана, это сообщение, не подтверждающееся греческими источниками, ошибочно; Г. Микаелян, напротив, признает свидетельство Михаила достоверным⁴⁴, а А. Г. Сукиасян полагает, что Филарет сперва был севастом, а затем (!) августом⁴⁵.

5. Тарониты

Этой семье Адонц уделил особое внимание. Вопрос о времени появления Таронитов в Византии вызвал дискуссию между Адонцем и В. Лораном. По мнению Адонца, они переселились в империю в 968 г., после смерти таронского князя Ашота⁴⁶. Лоран же допускает наличие византийских Таронитов еще до 968 г., полагая, что они могли быть потомками сыновей Давида-Аркаика (878—895)⁴⁷.

К какому бы времени ни относить иммиграцию Таронитов, с конца X в. они несомненно занимали важное место в составе византийской знати.

Суждения Адонца о Таронитах нуждаются в некоторых поправках и дополнениях. Прежде всего гипотеза Адонца о том, что вопреки прямому свидетельству Анны Комнин восстание в Трапезунде в 1104 г. возглавил не Григорий Таронит, а Григорий Гавра⁴⁸, не имеет оснований⁴⁹. Григорий к тому же не носил титула проэдра, как думал Адонц, основываясь на одном из писем Феофилакта Ифеста⁵⁰, в лучших рукописях это письмо имеет надписание не «проэдру Григорию Тарониту», а «Григорию, племяннику Таронита»⁵¹.

⁴⁰ Ioannes Zonaras, *Epitomae historiarum*, vol. III. Bonnae, 1897, стр. 693.1.

⁴¹ Ioannes Skylitzes, *He synecheia tes Chronographias*. Thessal., 1968, стр. 136. 17—18.

⁴² Anne Comnène, t. II, стр. 64. 5—8.

⁴³ V. Laurent, *Les sceaux byzantins...*, No 113. Титул куропалата он во всяком случае получил при Никифоре III (см. Michael Attaliota, *Historia*. Bonnae, 1853, стр. 301. 7—8, 19).

⁴⁴ Г. Микаелян, *История...*, стр. 71.

⁴⁵ А. Г. Сукиасян, *История Киликийского армянского государства и права (XI—XIV вв.)*. Ереван, 1969, стр. 22.

⁴⁶ N. Adontz, *Études...*, стр. 340—344.

⁴⁷ V. Laurent, *Alliances et filiation des premiers Taronites*. „Echos d'Orient“, 37, 1938, No 189—190, стр. 128.

⁴⁸ N. Adontz, *Études...*, стр. 294—296.

⁴⁹ См. A. Leroy-Molinghen, *Les lettres de Théophylacte de Bulgarie a Grégoire Taronite*. „Byzantion“, 11, 1936, стр. 589—592.

⁵⁰ N. Adontz, *Études...*, стр. 291.

⁵¹ A. Leroy-Molinghen, *Prolégomènes a une édition critique des „Lettres“ de Théophylacte de Bulgarie*. „Byzantion“, 13, 1938, стр. 255.

Еще большие трудности порождает личность Иоанна Таронита. Адонц отождествил между собой почти всех лиц, носивших это имя с конца XI до середины XII в.⁵² На самом деле речь идет о разных лицах, а именно:

а) Племянник Алексея I, полководец, подавлявший мятеж в Трапезунде; по-видимому, ему адресовано письмо Феофилакта, надписанное «Торинисопулу», т. е. Таронитопулу. Будапештская рукопись прямо называет Таронитопула дукой Скопле⁵³.

б) Претор и анаграфевс фем Фракии, Македонии, Волерона, Стримона и Солуни в 1102 г.⁵⁴ Отсутствует у Адонца.

в) Эпарх—конечно, не эпарх Хировакхов, как думал Д. Закифинос⁵⁵, но константинопольский⁵⁶.

г) Протокуропалат и начальник прошений, участник собора 1094/5 г.⁵⁷, возможно, идентичный владельцу печати протокуропалата Иоанна Таронита⁵⁸. Отсутствует у Адонца. Он бесспорно отличен от племянника Алексея I, который (с титулом севаста) особо поименован в списке участников собора⁵⁹, но возможность идентификации с одноименными претором и эпархом остается открытой.

д) Севаст, дикеодот и эпарх, участник собора 1147 г.⁶⁰ Отождествление с предыдущими невозможно из-за хронологического разрыва.

Один из корреспондентов Цеца, писавшего в середине XII в.,—севаст Таронит, чей преном не назван, и это затрудняет идентификацию. Из письма мы узнаем, что Таронит был «полнархом», т. е. градоначальником, и обещал подарить Цецу три эргастирия для продажи благоволий⁶¹. Его можно считать константинопольским эпархом и, следовательно, его идентификация с эпархом 1147 г. вполне вероятна.

Сохранились моливдовулы севаста Иоанна Таронита, которого П. Барня склонен отождествлять с одноименным эпархом⁶².

⁵² N. Adontz, *Études...*, стр. 247—249.

⁵³ Г. Г. Литаврин, Будапештская рукопись писем Феофилакта. «Изв. на Инст. за история», 14—15, 1964, стр. 520.

⁵⁴ Ф. И. Успенский, Мнения и постановления константинопольских поместных соборов XI—XII вв. о раздачах церковных имуществ (харистикарии). «Изв. Рус. археол. инст. в Константинополе», 5, 1900, стр. 31. 2—4, 42. 2—3. См. о нем P. Lemerle, *Philippe et Macédoine orientale*. Paris, 1945, стр. 167 и сл.

⁵⁵ D. Zakythinos, *Meletai peri tes dioiketikes diaireseos kai tes eparchikes dioikeseos en to Byzantino kratel*. „Epet. Hetair. Byz. Spudon“, 18, 1948, стр. 54.

⁵⁶ A. Leroy-Molinghen, *Les deux Jean Taronites de „l'Alexiade“*. „Byzantion“, 14, 1939, стр. 148, примеч. 3.

⁵⁷ J. P. Migne, *Patrol. gr.*, т. 127, col. 973 A.

⁵⁸ V. Laurent, *Les bulles metriques...*, No 518.

⁵⁹ A. Leroy-Molinghen, *Les deux Jean...*, стр. 150 и сл.

⁶⁰ A. Banduri, *Imperium orientale*, т. II. Parisiis, 1711, стр. 916. 31.

⁶¹ Ioannes Tzetzes, *Epistolae*. Tubingae, 1851, стр. 76. 29.

⁶² J. Barnea, *Noi sigilii bizantine de la Dunărea de jos*. „Studii și cercetări de istorie veche“, 17, 1966, No 2, стр. 291.

В работе Адонца не упомянут также протоневелисим Михаил Таронит, корреспондент Цеца⁶³.

Евдокия Таронитиса, севаста, известна лишь по печати XII в.⁶⁴ Об ее отношении к севастам Таронитам можно только гадать. Нужно ли отличать от нее одноименную проэдрису, печать которой В. Лоран⁶⁵ датировал XIII в.? Адонц считал проэдрису Евдокию женой Григория Таронита⁶⁶: не говоря о рискованности заключений подобного рода, Григорий, как выясняется (см. прим. 51), не носил титула проэдра.

По печати второй половины XI в. известен монах Роман Таронит⁶⁷.

От Адонца ускользнули весьма интересные стихи Феодора Продрома (середина XII в.), где прославлена невеста Иоанна Комнина, любимого племянника Мануила I. Поэт называет ее «евфратской ветвью» и «славой Таронитов», подчеркивая специально, что она происходила не из чужеземного племени, а из отеческого рода и своей «фатрии»⁶⁸. Тарониты середины XII в., насколько можно судить по Продрому, скорее приевфратские князья, нежели имперские полководцы и администраторы, они сохраняли халкидонитское вероисповедание.

6. Аспиеты

Семья Аспиетов не упомянута в книге Адонца. Ее основатель — армянин Аспиет, полководец Алексея I, которого Ш. Дюканж и вслед за ним Ф. Шаландон идентифицировали с Ошином, сыном Хетума, переселившимся в 70-е гг. XI в. из Гандзака в Киликию⁶⁹. Идентификация эта отвергнута Ж. Лораном⁷⁰, но и после выхода в свет его статьи за Дюканжем следовал Р. Груссе⁷¹.

В источниках XII в. назван ряд Аспиетов:

а) Михаил, византийский полководец, погибший в стычке с турками в конце правления Мануила I⁷². Может быть, его следует идентифицировать с Аспиетом (преном не назван), командиром византийского отряда во время войны с венграми в 1167 г.⁷³

б) Константин, севаст, также командир в войне 1167 г.⁷⁴

⁶³ Ioannes Tzetzes, *Epistolae*, стр. 5. 10.

⁶⁴ V. Laurent, *Le corpus...* V. 2, No 1468.

⁶⁵ V. Laurent, *Sceaux byzantins inédits*, „Byz. Zeitschr“, 33, 1933, стр. 359.

⁶⁶ N. Adontz, *Études...*, стр. 250 и сл.

⁶⁷ V. Laurent, *Le corpus...* V. 2, No 1438.

⁶⁸ „Recueil des historiens des croisades. Historiens grecs“, т. II, стр. 292. 172—193. См. об этих стихах K. J. Heilig, *Ostrom und das Deutsche Reich um die Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts*, „Kaisertum und Herzogsgewalt im Zeitalter des Friedrichs I.“, Stuttgart, 1952, стр. 261, примеч. 3.

⁶⁹ F. Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, т. I, Paris, 1900, стр. 239.

⁷⁰ J. Laurent, *Arméniens de Cilicie: Aspiétés, Oschin, Ursinus*, „Mélanges G. Schlumberger“, т. I, Paris, 1924, стр. 165.

⁷¹ R. Grousset, *Histoire des croisades*, т. I, Paris, 1934, стр. 44 и сл.

⁷² Nicetas Choniata, стр. 251. 17, 253. 26—254. 7.

⁷³ Cinnamus, стр. 271. 8.

⁷⁴ Там же, стр. 271. 12—13.

в) Иоанн Аспнет, или Аспиот, монах, корреопондент Микхила Глики⁷⁵.

г) Аспиот (может быть, Аспнет?), землевладелец в районе Неокастро, близ Эноса⁷⁶.

Более сложный случай — рассказ латинской хроники Магна пресвитера⁷⁷ о том, что Исаак II отправил к Салах ад-дину посольство, отвозившее золотой венец и другие драгоценные подарки. В составе посольства находились «Совестат, Аспион и старец Константин, переводчик с арабского языка». Посольство прибыло в день богоявления (6 января) после отступления Салах ад-дина от Тира к Акре. Снятие осады Тира относится к 1—2 января 1188 г., и, следовательно, посольство должно приходиться на январь 1188 г.

«Совестат» — разумеется, не имя, но титул — севаст. Послом ездил севаст Аспион, или, скорее, Аспиот/Аспнет.

В конце XII в. известны два Аспнета: Константин, командовавший войсками при Исааке II в 1190 г.⁷⁸, и Алексей, византийский полководец, попавший в плен к болгарам в начале правления Алексея III. После 1204 г. он был провозглашен «царем» в Филиппополе, но снова попал в руки болгар и на этот раз был предан казни⁷⁹. Может ли «севаст Аспион» быть идентифицирован с кем-либо из этих Аспнетов — неясно.

7. Торники

Оставляем в стороне вопрос о происхождении вассала Давида Куропалата Иоанна Торника, который поставил вблизи Карина (Феодосополя) надпись на армянском языке, а вместе с тем активно содействовал переписыванию и сам переписывал грузинские рукописи. Может быть, он происходил из армяно-грузинской семьи⁸⁰.

Список Торников, составленный Адонцем, может быть пополнен. В начале XI в. Торник (преном не назван) был судьей⁸¹. Роман Торник, симпон, известен по печати XI в.⁸² Торник, муж племянницы Феофилакты Ифеста, служил в армии⁸³. Михаил Торник известен лишь по глуп-

⁷⁵ Michael tu Glyka, *Eis tas aporias tes theias graphes kephalai*, t. I. Athenai, 1906, стр. 71. 2.

⁷⁶ L. Petit, *Typicon du monastère de la Kosmosotira près d'Aenos*. «Изв. Рус. археол. инст. в Константинополе», 13, 1908, стр. 52. 17—19.

⁷⁷ «Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores», vol. XVII, стр. 512.

⁷⁸ См. о нем Ch. Brand, *Byzantium...*, стр. 88.

⁷⁹ См. о нем A. Kratonelle, *He kata tou Latinou Helleno-Bulgarike sympraxis en Thrake. 1204—1206*. Athenai, 1964, стр. 79 и сл.

⁸⁰ N. Adontz, *Études...*, стр. 252, 309 и сл.

⁸¹ Peira, 49, 4.

⁸² V. Laurent, *La collection C. Orghidan*. Paris, 1952, No 189.

⁸³ J. P. Migne, *Patrol. gr.*, t. 126, col. 472 A. О родстве Феофилакты с Торниками см. J. Darrouzès. *Les discours d'Enthyme Tornikes*. «Rev. des ét. byz.», 26, 1968, стр. 96, примеч. 3, и особенно J. Darrouzès, *Georges et Démétrios Tornikès. Lettres et discours*. Paris, 1970, стр. 25.

хой легенде печати⁸⁴. При Мануиле I Иоанн Торник носил титул куропалата или протокуропалата⁸⁵.

Семья Торников играла важную роль в византийской администрации на рубеже XII и XIII вв. Новые материалы и исследования позволяют теперь полнее представить их деятельность, чем это мог сделать Адонц.

Димитрий Торник, судья вила и логофет дрома, умер не в 1198 г., как полагал Адонц⁸⁶, а в 1201 или в 1202 г.⁸⁷ По Ж. Даррузесу, он впервые назван логофетом в протоколе 1191 г.⁸⁸, но Никита Хониат титулет его севастом и логофетом уже в речи, которую Ф. Граблер отнес ко второй половине 80-х гг.⁸⁹ Он пережил опалу, но к 1199 г. вновь занял пост логофета⁹⁰. Даррузес идентифицировал его с его омонимом, братом Георгия Торника, митрополита эфесского (см. ниже), начинавшим службу в провинции в 50-е гг.⁹¹, что, впрочем, весьма гипотетично.

Константин, его сын, был епархом Константинополя и логофетом дрома⁹². Кажется соблазнительным отождествить его с логофетом дрома Константином Торником, дядей императора, упомянутым в грамоте, которую обычно датируют 1188 г.⁹³ Однако логофет 1188 г. не мог приходитьсь сыном Димитрию, поэтому Г. Штадтмюллер различал этих лиц⁹⁴. Иное решение предложил Даррузес: по его мнению, грамота была дана не в 1188, а в 1203 г., и тогда идентификация возможна⁹⁵.

Адонц упоминает Георгия Торника, «магистра магистров (! надо: «магистра риторов»), который стал затем митрополитом Эфеса»⁹⁶. На самом деле следует различать митрополита эфесского, жившего в середине XII в., и его омонима, магистра риторов, деятельность которого приходится на конец столетия⁹⁷.

⁸⁴ R. G. Davidson, *The Minor Objects*. „Corinth“ 12, 1952, No 2819.

⁸⁵ А. И. Панадопуло-Керамевс, *Noctes Petropolitanae*. СПб., 1913, стр. 199, 15—17.

⁸⁶ N. Adontz, *Études...*, стр. 259.

⁸⁷ J. Darrouzès, *Georges...*, стр. 39.

⁸⁸ Там же, стр. 33.

⁸⁹ F. Grabler, *Kaisertaten und Menschenschicksale im Spiegel der schönen Rede*. Graz, Wien, Köln, 1966, стр. 196 f.

⁹⁰ См. о нем также А. П. Каждан, Григорий Антиох. «Виз. врем.», 26, 1965, стр. 87; Ch. Brand, *Byzantium...*, стр. 99.

⁹¹ J. Darrouzès, *Georges...*, стр. 27, 37. Димитрий был родом из Фив (J. Darrouzès, *Les discours...*, стр. 65, 20).

⁹² N. Adontz, *Études...*, стр. 259 и сл.

⁹³ F. Miklosich, J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca*, т. VI. Vindob. 1890, стр. 123, 15—17.

⁹⁴ Г. Штадтмюллер, Рец. на статью Ш. Дилля: «Byz. Zeitschr.», 34, 1934, стр. 375, примеч. 3.

⁹⁵ J. Darrouzès, *Georges...*, стр. 34. Константин был женат на знатной даме, из рода Комнинов (J. Darrouzès, *Les discours...*, стр. 108, 9—10).

⁹⁶ N. Adontz, *Études...*, стр. 262.

⁹⁷ См. R. Browning, *The Speeches and Letters of Georgios Tornikes, Metropolitan of Ephesos (XII th Century)*. „Actes du XII-e Congrès intern. d'ét. byz.“, t. II, Beograd, 1964, стр. 421—427; J. Darrouzès, *Les documents byzantins du XIIe siècle sur la primauté Romaine*. „Rev. des ét. byz.“, 23, 1965, стр. 69—72.

На основании плохо сохранившейся печати Ф. Дэльгер допускал, что афонский прот Павел, живший около 1080 г., принадлежал к семье Торников⁹⁸, однако чтение слов «прот» и «Павел» на печати спорно.

Торники продолжали играть большую роль в составе византийской знати и в XIII—XV вв.⁹⁹

Протоспафарий Кондолеонт («Маленький Лев») Торник известен Адонцу как катепан Италии в 1019 г. Не без оснований историк отождествляет его с Кондолеонтом, стратигом Кефалинии в 1011 г. Что касается судьбы Кондолеонта после 1019 г., то она представляется Адонцу неясной — «если только не отождествлять его с известным мятежником Львом Торником»¹⁰⁰.

Сразу же отметим, что идентификация Кондолеонта со Львом Торником, действовавшим 30 лет спустя, не представляется сколько-нибудь вероятной. Тем более, что этому противоречит одно обстоятельство: вопреки Адонцу мы кое-что знаем о дальнейшей жизни Кондолеонта. Порфирий Успенский видел грамоту, согласно которой «протоспафарь» и военачальник Греции Торникий Кондолеон в 1204 г. прибыл на Афон и купил здесь монастырек¹⁰¹. Недавно эта грамота была издана полностью¹⁰² (к сожалению, от издателей ускользнул факт знакомства П. Успенского с этим документом), и мы можем представить себе историю купленного Кондолеонтом монастырька.

Первоначально агридий (хутор) Пифара в Карее (на Афоне), купленный в конце X в. Дмитрием Ламари и Иоанном Ивиром (умер в 1002 г.), был перестроен и превращен в монастырь, после чего Дмитрий передал его монаху Кириллу, а тот — своему ученику Георгию Харзану. Тот, нуждаясь в деньгах, продал монастырек за 210 номисм протоспафарию и стратигу Эллады Кондолеонту Торнику, явившемуся на Афон, чтобы принять постриг. Грамота датирована февралем 1024 г.

Таким образом, до конца 1023 г. Кондолеонт занимал высокий административный пост, а в начале 1024 г. купил монастырек Пифара и постригся там.

8. Ангелы

Этимология фамилии кажется очевидной¹⁰³ тем более, что в риторике конца XII в. прославление «ангеломенной» семьи становится общим местом. Однако столь возвышенное прозвище выпадает из ряда

⁹⁸ F. Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern des Heiligen Berges*. München, 1948, стр. 122 и сл.

⁹⁹ См. о них G. Schmalzbauer, *Die Tornikoi in der Palaiologenzeit*. „Jahrbuch der österr. Byzantinistik“, 18, 1969.

¹⁰⁰ N. Adontz, *Études...*, стр. 252 и сл.

¹⁰¹ П. Успенский, *Восток христианский: История Афона*, т. III. Киев, 1877, стр. 163.

¹⁰² P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, N. Svoronos, *Actes de Lavra*, I. Paris, 1970, No 25.

¹⁰³ H. Moritz, *Die Zunamen bei den byzantinischen Historikern und Chronisten*, т. II. Landshut, 1897/8, стр. 4 и сл.

византийских фамильных имен и позволяет, как нам кажется, направить поиск в другом направлении.

Термин Кекавмена $\theta \acute{\epsilon} \xi \text{ 'A}\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\eta\varsigma$ ¹⁰⁴ доставил немало затруднений исследователям. В. Г. Васильевский и А. А. Васильев относили его к англичанам¹⁰⁵. П. Лемерль полагал, что речь идет о $\theta \acute{\epsilon} \xi \text{ 'A}\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\eta\varsigma$, простолюдине¹⁰⁶. Р. М. Бартикян высказал мысль, что Ангел, или Агел — Амидская область (Диабакр) и что Кекавмен имеет в виду мусульманина (?) из Амидской области на византийской службе¹⁰⁷.

В латинских источниках выходцам из Ангела—Агела соответствуют ангуланы, или агуланы, которых анонимный историк I крестового похода ставит в один ряд с турками, арабами, сарацинами, курдами, персами, а также павликианами и «азимитами»¹⁰⁸, т. е. как раз с той этно-религиозной средой, которая характерна для армяно-сирийских областей XI в. Э. Джемисон предположила, что «агуланы» это испорченное агаряне¹⁰⁹, однако библейская Агарь была слишком хорошо знакома средневековым хронистам, чтобы допустить подобное искажение. К тому же аноним, описывая армию Кербоги, осаждавшую Антиохию, конкретно характеризует отряд агуланов — отличных воинов, вооруженных мечами и не робеющих перед копьями и стрелами¹¹⁰. Французский эпос также знает аголанов¹¹¹. Сохранилось предание об аголанде, который получил за свою службу в лен калабрийский город Реджо¹¹².

Нельзя ли в этой связи допустить, что Ангелы взяли свою фамилию от топонима Ангел — Агел? Когда Иоанн Каматир именовал Исаака II Ангела «человеком востока»¹¹³, он вряд ли мог иметь в виду происхождение деда Исаака из Филадельфии¹¹⁴. Даже если признать, что Исаак был родом из Вифинии¹¹⁵ (но прямых данных нет), этого еще недостаточно, чтобы видеть в нем «человека востока». Может быть, ри-

¹⁰⁴ Cecaumeni, Strategicon et incerti scriptoris de officiis regis libellus. „Зап. истор.-филол. фак. СПб. ун-в.», 38, 1896, стр. 95. 7—8.

¹⁰⁵ A. Vasiliev, The Opening Stages of the Anglo-Saxon Immigration to Byzantium in the XI-th Century. „Seminarium Kondakovianum“, 9, 1937, стр. 64—66.

¹⁰⁶ P. Lemerle, Prolégomènes a une édition critique et commentée des „Conseils et Récits“ de Kekaumenos. Bruxelles, 1960, стр. 6.

¹⁰⁷ Р. М. Бартикян, Об одной важной конъектуре в «Советах и рассказах» Кекавмена. «Вестник общ. наук АН Арм. ССР», 1968, № 8, стр. 118 и сл. См. еще P. Lemerle, Recherches récentes sur Kekaumène, auteur des „Conseils et récits“ „Rev. des ét. arm.“, 5, 1968, стр. 143 и сл.

¹⁰⁸ L. Bréhier, Histoire anonyme de la première croisade. Paris, 1924, стр. 110. Ср. там же, стр. 48.

¹⁰⁹ E. Jamison, Some Notes on the Anonymi Gesta Francorum with Special Reference to the Norman Contingent from South Italy and Sicily in the First Crusade. „Studies in French Language and Medieval Literature“, 1939, стр. 186.

¹¹⁰ L. Bréhier, Histoire..., стр. 112.

¹¹¹ „La Chanson d'Antioche“, t. II. Paris, 1848, стр. 139.

¹¹² См. о нем E. H. Meyer, Das Itinerarium peregrinorum. Stuttgart, 1962, стр. 134—136.

¹¹³ W. Regel, Fontes rerum byzantinorum, f. 2. Petropoli, 1917, стр. 247. 12.

¹¹⁴ Nicetas Choniata, стр. 126. 5.

¹¹⁵ M. Bachmann, Die Rede des Johannes Syropulos an den Kaiser Isaak II, Angelos. München, 1935, стр. 44, примеч. 2.

тор помнил о происхождении Ангелов из приевфратских, действительно «восточных» областей?

Конечно, это лишь предположение, хотя и вероятное. Мы не можем утверждать, что Ангелы были армянами, но не исключается, что их родину надо искать в армяно-сирийских лимитрофах на восточных границах Византии.

9. Арвандины/Аравандины

Они, по-видимому, происходили, подобно Ангелам, из приевфратских областей: во всяком случае, фамильное имя, скорее всего, связано с названием северосирийской крепости ар-Равандан¹¹⁶.

Первый известный представитель семьи — Аруантан/Аруандан (без пренома), комендант византийской крепости Нисибис, близ Самосаты, упомянут Матфеем Эдесским: он в 1066/7 гг. попал в плен к туркам¹¹⁷.

П. Готье убедительно показал, что названный у Ордерика Виталия Равендин, «могущественный грек», ездивший в 1118 или 1119 г. послом в Антиохию, — не эпарх Радии, как думал Дюканж, а Арвандин¹¹⁸. Готье, однако, не заметил, что Ордерику упоминает еще одного Равендина-протоспафария, которому жители Лаодикии около 1099 г. сдали свой город¹¹⁹.

Ряд Арвандинов известен по печатям: Николай, спафарокандидат, протонотарий Халдин¹²⁰, Лев, на моливдовуле которого был изображен св. Георгий¹²¹, и Арвандин, чей преном не назван и на чьей печати стояло изображение святых воинов Георгия и Феодора¹²², куропалат Иоанн¹²³. Видимо, последнему принадлежала печать из Афинского собрания с легендой, которую К. Константинопулос читает: «Господи, помоги Иоанну, куропалату, 'Αρβι¹²⁴...», что следует дополнить 'Αρβ[αντ (ινφ)].

Возможно, что куропалат Иоанн тождествен севасту Иоанну Арвандину, известному по стихам Николая Калликла и уставу монастыря Пандократора. Готье безоговорочно отождествил его с Равендином Ордерика (см. примеч. 118), но т. к. Арвандинов было много, да и Равенди-

¹¹⁶ E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches*, Bruxelles, 1935, стр. 140, примеч. 7.

¹¹⁷ Matthieu d'Edesse, стр. 153 и сл.

¹¹⁸ J. P. Migne, *Patrologia latina*, t. 188, col. 829c—830 A; см. P. Gautier, *L'obituaire du typhon du Pantocrator*, „Rev. des ét. byz.“, 27, 1969, стр. 260 и сл.

¹¹⁹ J. P. Migne, *Patrol. lat.*, t. 188, col. 745 B; см. F. Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, t. I, стр. 210 и сл. Анна Комнин, однако, сообщает, что Лаодикия была сдана другому полководцу — Андроннику Пинцилуку (Anne Comnène, т. III, стр. 34, 2—3).

¹²⁰ G. Schlumberger, *La sigillographie de l'Empire byzantin*, Paris, 1884, стр. 290.

¹²¹ V. Laurent, *Les bulles métriques...*, No 29.

¹²² G. Schlumberger, *La sigillographie...*, стр. 620.

¹²³ G. Schlumberger, *Sceaux byzantins inédits*, „Rev. numism.“, 9, 1905, стр. 333 и сл.

¹²⁴ K. M. Konstantopulos, *Byzantina molybdobulla tu en Athenais Ethniku numismatiku museu*, Athenai, 1917, No 387 a.

нов — двое, идентификация эта не бесспорна, как и не бесспорно (из-за хронологического разрыва) предложенное Л. Стирноном отождествление современника Алексея I с одноименным севастом, участником собора 1166 г.¹²⁵

* * *

Эти заметки не дают полного представления об армяно-византийской знати XI—XII вв. Их цель гораздо скромнее. Они показывают, сколь необходимо собрать и уточнить данные о византийской аристократии, происходившей из Армении и из соседних с ней областей. Только после этого можно будет ставить и решать вопрос об ее удельном весе в составе византийской элиты, социальном лице и об изменении ее положения на протяжении столетий—вопросы, которые до сих пор практически не поднимались.

ՀԱՅ-ԲՅՈՒՋԱՆԴԱԿԱՆ ԴԻՏՈՂՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՆԵՐ

Պատմ. գիտ. դոկտոր Ա. Պ. ԿԱԺԴԱՆ (Սոսկվա)

(Ա մ փ ո փ ո լ մ)

XI—XII դդ. բազմաթիվ հայազգի ընտանիքներ մասն էին կազմում Բյուզանդական կայսրության իշխող դասակարգի: Ենթադրվում է, որ բյուզանդական ավագանու մոտ 10 տոկոսը հայերից էր բաղկացած:

Բյուզանդիայում ծառայող հայազգի ազնվականությունը հատուկ ուսումնասիրության նյութ էր դարձել Ն. Ադոնցի՝ 1920—1930-ական թթ. լույս տեսած հոդվածներում, որոնք վերջերս վերահրատարակվեցին առանձին գրքով: Առանձին հարցեր, սակայն, աղբյուրագիտական եղած և վերջերս լույս տեսած նյութերի հիման վրա այժմ հնարավոր է լրացնել և վերանայել:

Հոդվածում ուսումնասիրության են ենթարկված Բյուզանդիայում ծառայած մի շարք հայազգի ընտանիքներ:

Շատ է զրվել Սենեքերիմ Արծրունու և նրա մերձակա հետնորդների մասին, բայց պակաս հայտնի է Սենեքերիմյանների խաղացած դերը Բյուզանդական կայսրության վերնախավի մեջ XI դարի ընթացքում: Բյուզանդական աղբյուրներում հիշվում են այդ ընտանիքին պատկանող մի շարք զործիշներ, այգթվում և էպիրոսի նիկոպոլիս քաղաքի կառավարիչը:

Առաջին Ռուրիկյաններն այնուամենայնիվ Բյուզանդիայից վասալական կախման մեջ էին գտնվում: Հովհաննես II կայսեր կողմից զերի վերցված Ռուբենն ու Թորոս II-ը, իսկ I-ի որդիները, թեև Բյուզանդիայում ծառայության մեջ մտան, բայց այդուհանդերձ արմատ չգցեցին այնտեղ: Մեզ հասած Թեոդորոս Ռուպենիոս անունը կրող արձիճն կնիքը պատկանում է իսկ I-ի որդի Թորոս II-ին և ոչ Թորոս I-ին, ինչպես կարծում են ոմանք:

Քուրդիկյանների ընտանիքը Բյուզանդիայում հաստատվեց Վասիլ I օրոք: Այդ շրջանում նրանք հայ էին համարվում, բայց XI դարում արդեն բյուզան-

¹²⁵ L. Stiernon, Notes de titulature et de prosopographie byzantines. Sebaste et Gambros. „Rev. des ét. byz.“, 23, 1965, стр. 239 и сл.

դականացած էին: XII դարում նրանք հանդես են գալիս *Կիլիկիայի* հայկական թագավորության մեջ:

Բյուզանդիայի վերնախավում հայտնի են *Վահրամյանները*: Այդ ընտանիքի ն. Ադոնցին հայտնի անդամներից բացի, կարելի է հիշատակել Վասիլ-Վահրամին, Միքայել զորավարին և արոտոսպաթարուհի և զորավարուհի Կալի Վրախամինային:

Բյուզանդական ավադանու մեջ կարևոր դեր էին խաղում Տարոնացիները: XI դարի վերջից մինչև XII դարի կեսերը հայտնի Հովհաննես Տարոնացու անվան տակ ն. Ադոնցը տեսնում է մեկ մարդու, այնինչ խոսքը առնվազն հինգ տարբեր մարդկանց մասին է:

XI—XII դդ. հայտնի է Ասպետյանների ընտանիքը: Նրա հիմնադիրն է Ալեքսիոս 1-ի ժամանակ գործած զորավար Ասպիետը: XII դարում հայտնի են զորավար Միքայելը, սևաստ Կոստանդինը, վանական Հովհաննեսը, կալվածատեր Ասպիետը և այլ Ասպետյաններ:

Թոռնիկյանների հայտնի ընտանիքից ն. Ադոնցի մոտ չեն հիշված XI դարի սկզբում գործած դատավոր Թոռնիկը, սիմսյոն Ռոմանոս Թոռնիկը և մի շարք այլ անձինք: Թոռնիկյանները կարևոր դեր էին խաղում Բյուզանդիայում նաև XIII—XV դարերում:

Մինչև օրս ընդունված է Անգելոսների անունը կապել հունարեն «անգելոս» (հրեշտակ) բառի հետ, բայց նման ենթադրությունը չի հաստատվում: Բացառված չէ, որ անունը ծագում է Անգեղ (Անգեղտուն) տեղանունից: Իսահակ II Անգելոսը կոչված է «արևելցի» մի բան, որ խոսում է այդ ընտանիքի արևելյան ծագման մասին: Թեև չենք կարող պնդել, որ Անգելոսները հայկական ծագում ունեն, բայց բացառված չէ, որ նրանց հայրենիքը գտնվելիս լինել Բյուզանդական կայսրության արևելքում, հայ-ասորական սահմանամերձ շրջաններում:

Վերջապես Բյուզանդիայի վերնախավի մեջ հայտնի են Արվանդյանները. որոնք ծագում են մերձեփրատյան շրջաններից: Նրանցից շատերը հայտնի են արճիճե կնիքներից:

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THE ARMENIANS IN THE BYZANTINE RULING CLASS
PREDOMINANTLY IN THE NINTH THROUGH
TWELFTH CENTURIES

Alexander Kazhdan

Dumbarton Oaks

In the eleventh-century life of a Byzantine saint, Lazarus of Mount Galesius by name, the following episode is related: young Lazarus, who longed for a journey to the Holy Land, found a companion in a monk from Paphlagonia, but this monk happened to be a vicious and perfidious; as they arrived in Attaleia, the major Cilician harbor, the monk met a ship-owner, naukleros, talked to him "in Armenian dialect" and agreed to sell him Lazarus. Only by the intervention of a sailor who understood Armenian and revealed the treacherous plan to Lazarus was the boy saved from slavery.¹ Another contemporary Saint's life transfers us into another area, far away from Cilicia or Paphlagonia: Nilus of Rossano is said by his hagiographer to have found a fox skin on the road; he bound the skin around his head, took off his clothes and hung them on the stick he carried on his shoulder (Byzantine saints sometimes had strange and hard-to-explain ideas). In such unusual garb he entered the kastron, the small local center, and children who saw him walking "in such a shape," as the hagiographer modestly puts it, began to throw stones at him and to yell. Some of them called him "Bulgarian kalogeros," a word that does not have an English equivalent but can be rendered in Russian as starec; it is quite plausible to surmise that by this name the children meant Bogomil. Other kids, however, called him Frankos, an ethnonym that designated in Byzantine texts first and foremost the Normans. But what matters for our purpose is the third group of local children—they called Nilus Armenian.²

T. Samuelian & M. Stone, eds. Medieval Armenian Culture. (University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies 6). Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983. pp. 440 to 452.

An Armenian ship-owner with an Armenian crew would have been quite a natural sight in eleventh-century Attaleia, next to the heart of Armenian territory, but from the life of Nilus we learn that even boys in a small South-Italian kastron were not unaware of Armenians, though they considered Armenians as strange as the warlike Normans and the heretical Bogomils.

Geographically seen, the Armenians were ubiquitous throughout the Byzantine empire; they were ubiquitous from the social point of view, as well. We find them on all rungs of the social ladder, including the topmost, the imperial throne. Among Byzantine basileis of Armenian descent there is Leo V (813-820) explicitly described by Nicephorus Skeuophylax as a man "who originated from the Armenians and Assyrians";³ though I cannot guess who the Assyrians of Nicephorus were, there is no doubt about the Armenian origin of Leo V. Basil I (867-886), Romanus I Lecapenus (920-944), John Tsimisces (969-976), all were definitely of Armenian stock, and their Armenian origin was understood by contemporaries and emphasized by chroniclers. This fact is well known and clearly demonstrated by Peter Charanis, whereas Elisabeth Bauer repeats these data without any substantial change or addition.⁴

Even among the higher echelon of clergy we find people of Armenian descent. Andronicus I (1183-1185), enraged by Patriarch Theodosius Bora-diotes (1179-1183), called him "the crafty Armenian," and Nicetas Choniates, the historian who preserved this scene, comments that the patriarch was Armenian "by his father's kin."⁵ Another twelfth-century patriarch, Michael II (1143-1146), belonged to the famous Armenian family of the Curcuas that flourished in the tenth century, when John Curcuas was one of the foremost Byzantine generals; another John Curcuas, magistros during Tzimisces reign, was killed during the war against the Rus, and still another John Curcuas held the very important post of the katepana (governor) of Italy in 1008. We could suggest that by the time of Michael II Curcuas, in the mid-twelfth century, the family had been Hellenized, but his contemporaries did not forget the Armenian roots of the family: Michael Italicus, skillful rhetorician of the twelfth century, in his panegyricus dedicated to the patriarch claims that his hero's fatherland was "the divine paradise planted in the East,"⁶ and such a vague expression could aptly, in the Byzantine rhetorical language, designate Armenian territory.

Armenian Theoctistes was an influential monastic leader in the second

quarter of the eleventh century. In the purchase deed of 1030 he is named monk and hegumenos of the monastery of Esphigmenu (Esphagmenu in the charter); in 1034 he acquired for his monastery a virgin land nearby the monastic allotment Mauros Kormos; as the protos of Athos he signed two charters now in the archive of the Laura of Saint Athanasius (1035 and 1037) the first of which has his signature not in Greek but in Armenian.⁷ Another charter of 1037 sheds some new light on the activity of Armenian monks within the framework of the Byzantine church. This charter contains a list of privileges bestowed by protos Theoctistes on his spiritual brother Nicephorus: Nicephorus should be entertained together with the protos, unless he preferred to eat in his own cell, receiving the same meal as Theoctistes; he retained a servant who was to be fed with the brethren; after Theoctistes' death, Nicephorus was to get an estate with various buildings and vineyards. It is worth mentioning that among witnesses who signed the charter of 1037 was at least one Armenian, John Petroses, who evidently belonged to the same noble family as Smbat Petruses; Smbat in 1064 held the post of strategos in the Thracian town of Apros.⁸

Why did Nicephorus receive this exceptional endowment? The charter of 1037 contains the explanation: Nicephorus diligently served thirty-six years in the theme of Charsianon (probably from 1001 through 1037), where he founded a monastery and gathered a number of monks.⁹ We can conclude from this charter that the monastery of Esphigmenu had a certain number of monks who were not only still connected with Armenian literacy but who also participated in the organization of missionary activity on the eastern borders of the Byzantine empire. The date of 1001 when Nicephorus, the spiritual brother of the Armenian Theoctistes, was sent to Charsianon ought to make us especially alert: that was the time of the death of David Curopalates and of the annexation of his principality by Basil II (976-1025), emperor of Byzantium. The Empire apparently needed missionaries of Caucasian origin on the eastern frontier.

The role of the Armenians in the Byzantine army is well known. Nicephorus (963-969), in his Strategicon, acknowledges that the eastern army would be recruited from two elements, Rhomaioi and Armenians;¹⁰ by so saying he emphasizes the specific role played by Armenian contingents at least on the eastern frontier. According to Kamal ad-Din, Roman III's (1028-1034) guard was formed of Armenians, and due to them the emperor was able to survive the flight from Aleppo in 1030.¹¹ However, in numerous

chrysobulls issued by Alexius I (1081-1118) Armenians are not listed among the foreign mercenaries (including Abchasians and Alans) who would be billeted throughout the Empire.¹² How can this puzzling silence be explained? Does the imperial court consider the Armenians as the emperor's subjects, not foreigners? Or had the role of Armenian contingents drastically decreased by the end of the eleventh century?

Here we confront a very important question. We can take it for granted that the Armenians played a very significant part in Byzantine society—but has this part remained always the same? Can we reveal any changes under the smooth and pleasant surface of the overall statement that some Byzantine emperors, patriarchs, abbots and generals belonged to Armenian families?

The search for changes necessarily presupposes certain operations with figures but it is well known that Byzantine state archives perished and Byzantine demographic data are vague and unreliable. Can we find a means to hurdle this seemingly insurmountable barrier, the lack of precise information? Tentatively we can, although for only a socially and temporarily restricted segment of the Byzantine population. I mean the ruling elite of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The ruling elite is the single social stratum located, with a certain degree of consistency, within the spotlight of our sources; even if we do not know all the members of the Byzantine ruling class, we can be pretty sure that we will meet almost all the leading families if we choose for our investigation a relatively broad period of time. The eleventh and twelfth centuries present a particularly favorable period, since the Empire, until the catastrophe of 1204, was not yet transformed into an insignificant city-state on the edge of the Christian world, doomed to be gobbled up by the Turkish superpower; on the other hand, Greek sources of these centuries are relatively abundant. Moreover, the habit of using family names was established in Byzantium only in about 1000, whereas before this date they were used sporadically and not consistently.

The results of my calculations have been analyzed in two monographs published in Russian and therefore practically unavailable to Western scholars. One of these books is dedicated to Armenians within the framework of the Byzantine ruling elite.¹³ I will take a moment to summarize its conclusions shortly, but first I wish to expose one of many difficulties a scholar has to cope with while investigating the problems of

medieval demography. This difficulty can be flatly defined as follows: Who should be included among Byzantine Armenians?

Of course there are some families whose Armenian descent cannot be questioned: they are explicitly named Armenians by our sources, they were closely connected with Armenian territories, their names are without any doubt Armenian. I counted fourteen families of unquestionably Armenian origin, such as the Musele, Curcuas, Taronites, Aspietes, and I can add to them now the fifteenth, Petruses, whom I have just mentioned. There is another group consisting of twenty families who have been described by various scholars as Armenians, even though we have no direct indications concerning their Armenian descent, only more or less vague hints. Let us take as an example the family of Sclerus, the first of whom, the strategos of Peloponnesia at about 805, originated, according to the Chronicle of Monembasia, in Lesser Armenia.¹⁴ Is this testimony sufficient to enlist the Sclerus into the Armenian nobility? The case is ambiguous, especially if we take into consideration that skleros 'austere or severe,' is a Greek word and that later sources never mention the Armenian origin of the Sclerus family.

An even harder nut to crack is the small group of four families (Tornices, Pacuriani, Vichkatzi and Apuchap) who were intermittently called in our sources both Armenians and Iberi. The problem of their ethnic origin (especially that of Pacuriani) produced a hot dispute predominantly between Armenian and Georgian scholars; sharp words have been said by both parties and much poisoned ink spilt. As a matter of fact, the problem is not as insoluble as it seems from the heat of the dispute: the difference between Georgians and Armenians of Chalcedonian creed was not unbridgeable, especially in the region of Taiq, and we know some Byzantine subjects who spoke and wrote, besides the Greek, both Georgian and Armenian. The term introduced by C. Toumanoff, the "Caucasians,"¹⁵ seems to me to provide a happy outlet from a "patriotic" but barren discussion.

If we assume that there were about thirty or forty Armenian families within the Byzantine ruling elite of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, we establish a starting point for deliberation about the role played by the "Caucasians" in Byzantine society. The general number of "aristocratic" families in Byzantium is approximately 340, so the Armenians made up a good ten percent of the whole.

Other ethnic minorities played a lesser role than Armenians. The Southern Slavs gave sixteen aristocratic families at that period, about ten or

eleven were of "Latin" origin (mainly from Norman Italy), a few less—of Arab descent, approximately five—Turks.

The Armenian group within the Byzantine ruling class was far from uniform. Some of them retained their language, culture and Monophysite religion, even though the most cultivated of them could not resist the charm of Byzantine civilization: Gregory Pahlavuni Magistros had profound knowledge of Greek literature and devoted many years to translation from Greek.¹⁶ Relations between the Monophysite (Gregorian) Armenians and the Byzantine state, church and population were tense, and the story of Gagik of Ani is perhaps the most eloquent episode of this incessant struggle: Gagik left Ani in 1045 and the emperor endowed him with a part of Cappadocia (perhaps also some lands in Charsianon and Lycandus); he murdered the metropolitan of Caesaria but was captured by local magnates, brought to their castle and hanged on the wall in 1079/80. But there was another group of Armenian aristocracy which accepted Chalcedonian creed and joined the ranks of the Byzantine elite.¹⁷

No less important was another distinction: some of the "Byzantine Armenians" belonged to the military aristocracy and served the Empire as generals and governors of provinces, some of them were civil officials, According to my calculations, the role of the Caucasians within the military aristocracy was much more significant than their part in the civil officialdom. Within this group four families are represented by civil functionaries only; we could add to them also the Machitarii, although the functions of the first among them, Basil Machitarius, are not clear enough—he was the governor of Melitene and Lycandus, but at the same time he functioned as judge. On the contrary not less than twelve or fifteen families belonged to the military aristocracy, whereas a considerable group of families began as generals and governors and eventually found their place within the civil officialdom. In other words, Armenians occupied about 10% of the civil elite and about 25% (or even more) of the Empire's military aristocracy whose origin we know (the figures seem to be higher than the overall percentage produced above; the discrepancy is to be explained by the fact that the origin can be determined only for approximately a half of the whole bulk of registered families). Thus we suggest that the Armenians in the Byzantine service were predominantly warriors or military administrators; they played an enormous role in the Byzantine army, even if the figure of 25% is exaggerated, whereas their impact on the civil service was not that

significant.

We can reach the same conclusion in a different way. If we analyze the correlation of various groups within the Byzantino-Armenian aristocracy, we get, approximately, the following figures: 8% of old noble families had lost their importance by the eleventh century; 42% of families which can be determined as military aristocracy; 37% of families which had belonged to the military aristocracy but eventually changed face and became civil officials; and 13% of families who served in the civil service. Even if these figures should not be accepted as precise and impeccable data, we have no reason to doubt that the Armenians entered the ranks of the Byzantine elite mainly as warriors.

We have now to study the "geographical distribution" of Armenian commanders and governors on Byzantine service: in which regions did they predominantly serve? The first conclusion we are able to draw is that some Byzantino-Armenian families, in their service, were connected with particular areas. Thus the Taronites functioned in the districts of Thessalonike, Macedonia and Skoplje; the Dallasseni were active in Antioch; the Apuchap, in Edessa. But the stable links of this kind can be traced in other, not Caucasian groups of Byzantine aristocracy. What is more relevant for our aim is the fact that Armenians were used, above all, for service in the frontier zone. In the eleventh century this zone included the eastern themes—from Antioch up to Iberia, as well as the island of Samos, that was to thwart the access to the Aegean Sea, and also Italy and the north-west regions; the latter encompassed at the beginning of the century, during the reign of Basil II, Thessalonike, Macedonia and Philippopolis; by the way, Philippopolis had a considerable, even though not measurable Armenian population. Later, after Basil's annexation of Bulgaria, the area of "Armenian activity" shifted westward—to Devol, Skoplje and Sirmium.

It is well known that the Armenian population was especially dense in the Eastern provinces of the Empire, in the themes of Antioch, Edessa, Melitene, Taron, Vaspurakan, Iberia and Sebasteia. Armenian governors were especially abundant just in these districts. In Vaspurakan and Iberia, which were annexed by Byzantium during Basil II's reign, the first governors were recruited from Greeks but very soon after that the administration of these themes was transferred to governors of Armenian stock.¹⁸

The social basis of the Byzantino-Armenian aristocracy is very difficult to describe since our sources are particularly scanty in determining

economic positions and economic activities. Nonetheless, we are able to state that landed estates are mentioned in the hands of fifteen Armenian families adding up to 40%; some of these estates (those of Pacuriani, Burtzes, Gabras, Pahlavuni and so forth) were large according to Byzantine standards. These figures do not imply that 60% of Armenian aristocratic families were landless; the silence of medieval sources is a very unreliable argument, even though it is worth noting that those Armenian families which belonged to civil officialdom stand outside this list of landowners. But we can render these figures eloquent if we compare them with the data concerning other groups of Byzantine elite: thus among the uppermost echelon of the Byzantine ruling class, the so-called Comnenian clan (the Comneni and their relatives), 68% of families owned landed estates of various sizes, whereas among Byzantine civil aristocracy only about 16% of all the families can be described as landowners.

Now we come to another puzzling problem. Armenians formed an important part of the Byzantine military aristocracy; they—at least a substantial part of their elite—belonged to the landowning class. Thus both functionally and socially they joined the ranks of those who appeared to provide the main support of the Comnenian dynasty. Surprisingly, however, Armenians remained outside of the Comnenian clan and quite seldom concluded marriages with representatives of the imperial dynasty. Whereas the Comnenian clan consisted of around fifty families, only five Armenian families happened to be among them; but it is not only the figures that matter—none of the Armenian families have a position equal to that of the Ducas or Palaeologi, Batatzes or Contostephani. Let us study all the cases of the "Armenian marriages" to the Comnenian house.

Anna Dalassena married to John Comnenus, the father of the future emperor Alexius I; Michael Taronites's spouse was Maria, Alexius Comnenus's sister—the marriage was concluded still before 1081, before Alexius's ascent to the throne. The relations of the Curticii with the Comneni are questionable: even if Constantine Curticius was married to Theodora, Alexius I's daughter, the alliance was of short duration, and quite soon Theodora found another husband, Constantine Angelus. The marriage of Gregory Gabras with Alexius's other daughter, Maria, was planned but not concluded. Gregory Pacurianus Junior was the son-in-law of Nicephorus, Alexius's youngest brother. There are no evidences about "Armenian marriages" of the Comneni in the twelfth century, except in the case of Michael Gabras, who

married the niece of Manuel I and that of John Comnenus, Manuel's nephew, who took his bride from the "Euphratian branch" of the Taronites.

Thus we can surmise that in the eleventh and especially in the twelfth century the Armenians were in a sense restricted in their climbing up the social ladder: they formed a significant part of the Byzantine elite but—unlike the tenth century—they had no access to the topmost echelon of the Byzantine ruling class.

Can we find an explanation of this puzzling situation? In a recent article, S. Vryonis drew attention to the ambiguity of the Byzantine images of the Armenian. It was well known, even before Vryonis, that strong anti-Armenian prejudice existed in Byzantine society; his merit lies in demonstrating that side by side with this hostile attitude Byzantium knew a milder language, and very often "Armenian physical prowess, bellicosity, and physical beauty" were praised by Byzantine authors.¹⁹ This ambiguity of images coincides with the ambiguity of behavior of the Byzantino-Armenian aristocracy with respect to the Byzantine state: they formed a solid body of imperial military commanders and provincial governors sent to the most responsible posts on the frontier; on the other hand, they frequently sided with rebels or even headed dangerous insurrections—I counted about 25 cases of mutiny from 976 through 1204, in which Armenians participated; some of them were Hellenized, whereas a considerable group preserved their language, dress and religion. They were consistent supporters of the regime, but they were "dissidents."

This observation, however, does not bring us the final solution of the puzzle: neither the ambiguity of images nor the ambiguity of behavior prevented the Armenians from seizing the leading positions in the Empire of the ninth and tenth centuries. We ought to acknowledge that in the eleventh and the twelfth centuries the Armenian situation in Byzantium grew worse.

If we summarize the data concerning the Armenians in Byzantine service during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, we get the following figures:

From the reign of Basil II we have data concerning 40 noble Armenians in Byzantine service, including 33 military commanders and one official, Basil Lecapenus, of exclusively high rank;

From the second quarter of the eleventh century we have data concerning 38 noble Armenians, of whom only 23 can be

determined as military commanders;

From the third quarter of the eleventh century about 50 noble Armenians are mentioned, of whom about 30 were military commanders;

There are also evidences (mainly provided by the seal material) that can be dated only approximately to the eleventh century—among these 26 noble Armenians only eight or nine were military commanders.

Alexius I's reign forms a turning point: we can collect testimonies on 63 noble Armenians of this span of time, but only about 20 of them were warriors; of the ten people whose activity can be dated roughly to the eleventh or twelfth centuries only one was involved military service.

During the reign of his two descendents, John II (1118-1143) and Manuel I (1143-1180), 40 noble Armenians are recorded; the number of warriors among them seems to have decreased even more—only eleven or twelve of them; at the end of the twelfth century (up to 1204) we know 19 noble Armenians, of whom only five were military commanders. Four persons more are dated roughly to the twelfth century, and none of them belonged to the military class.

Thus we can observe two tendencies of development: first, a general narrowing in the role of the Armenian element within the ruling elite of Byzantium; second, a decrease in the number of warriors (and provincial governors) within the Byzantino-Armenian aristocracy, its shift toward the civil service. Both tendencies could find, it seems, their explanation in the realities of both Byzantine and Armenian history of the period.

In Byzantium the Comnenian dynasty that seized the power in 1081 was supported by the "clan" of families connected with the dynasty by relation or affinity. This clan of approximately fifty families included, probably, the largest landowners, and monopolized the military command. Old families of the military aristocracy who did not join the ranks of the Comnenian clan were pushed into the background, transformed into civil officialdom, plunged into provincial life or even vanished completely. Many important Armenian families suffered such a fate.

On the other hand, from the end of the eleventh century new Armenian principalities started to appear in Northern Syria, Mesopotamia and

Cilicia. The most efficient representatives of Armenian aristocracy rushed there, and their influx into Byzantium declined considerably. Thus during Alexius I's reign the Aspietes and Coccobasilii were the only Armenian families who entered the ranks of the Byzantine elite, and perhaps also the Vaspurakanites, but the information concerning the latter is extremely vague. After Alexius's death the Armenian influx into Byzantium as a matter of fact would have stopped, were it not for the Rubenides whose stay in Constantinople, however, was against their will. All this twelfth-century emigration differs signally from the emigration of Basil II's time when such families as the Pacuriani, Dalasseni, Theodorocani, Vichkatzi, Tornices, Artsrunides, Delphanas came to the Empire. Moreover, from the end of the eleventh century on, a sort of Armenian ebb-tide from Byzantium can be observed. Philaretus Brachamius and Rubenides tried to create their independent principalities in the frontier zone between Byzantium and the Seljuqs, a development strongly reinforced by the First Crusade, which destroyed traditional links of relationship and dependency in Northern Syria and Cilicia. Bagrat, whom Baldwin of Boulogne appointed governor of Ravendal, is a typical example of this new tendency: according to Albert of Aix, Baldwin met him during the crusaders' siege of Nicaea in 1097, where Bagrat came, having absconded from "the chains of the Greek emperor." Supposedly he served Alexius I, at any rate his brother Kogh Vasil (Coccobasilius) had the title of sebastos and commanded the troops of the Byzantine Pečenegs. Albert describes Bagrat²⁰ as a perfidious man who was experienced in warfare and whose reputation was high throughout Armenia, Syria and Greece. Gabriel (Khavril), hegumenos of Melitene (died about 1103), was another man who connected his destiny with the frontier zone. An Armenian "according to his origin, tongue and habits" in the words of William of Tyre²¹—he was at the same time very close to Byzantine culture: in any case, a certain Michael Andreopulus translated for him from Syriac into Greek the book of Syntipas; in the preamble Andreopulus addressed Gabriel with the Greek titles of dux and sebastos.²²

Even though the flow of the Armenian aristocracy into Byzantium began to dwindle from the very beginning of the twelfth century, if not from the end of the eleventh century, the links of Armenian principalities with the Empire were not interrupted; they took on a different shape; the links between vassals and their sovereign. The Armenian aristocracy ceased to be incorporated into the ranks of the Byzantine elite, but appeared, time and

again, in the Byzantine army as independent vassals with their own troops.

Perhaps, all these changes could shed light on the Armenian attitude during the Crusades—the Armenians were the staunchest supporters of the crusaders, and the Crusaders' "treacherous" behavior with regard to the Empire induced Byzantine animosity toward the Armenians.

The social role of the Armenians in the Byzantine empire should be considered within the larger framework of the problem of the Byzantine frontier zone. On the one hand, these territories on the border lay relatively far from the center of the centralistic and totalitarian state; on the other hand, they required prompt and more responsible decisions. There was the abiding menace of hostile invasions in this hotbed of anti-centralistic and parafeudal tendencies which, however, did not win the day in the twelfth-century Byzantium despite the temporary success of the Comneni.

NOTES

¹AASS Novembris III, 511F.

²AASS Septembris VI, 286 D.

³Theophanes 2, 22.36.

⁴P. Charanis, The Armenians in the Byzantine Empire (Lisboa, 1963); E. Bauer, Die Armenier im Byzantinischen Reich und ihr Einfluss auf Politik, Wirtschaft und Kultur (Yerevan, 1978).

⁵Nicetas Choniates, Historia (ed. J. L. Dieten; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1971) 253.2-3.

⁶Michael Italikos, Lettres et discours (ed. P. Gautier; Archive de l'Orient Chrétien 14; Paris, 1972) 72.18-19.

⁷On him, A. P. Kazhdan, "Esfigmenskaja gramota 1037 g. i dejatel'nost' Feoktista," Vestnik Erevanskogo universiteta (1974) 3: 236-238.

⁸A. P. Kazhdan, "Grečeskaja nadpis' XI v. s upominaniem armjanina-stratiga," Istoriko-filologičeskij žurnal (1973) 2: 189f.

⁹Actes d'Esphigmenou (ed. J. Lefort; Paris, P. Lethielleux, 1973) No. 1.

¹⁰Ju. Kulakovskij, "Strategika imperatora Nikifora," Zapiski Akademii

Nauk. Serija Istor.-Filol. 8 (1908) 9: 1.3. See also the commentary on p. 28.

¹¹V. Rozen, Imperator Vasilij Bolgaroboica (Saint Petersburg, 1883), 319.

¹²A. P. Kazhdan, B. L. Fonkič, "Novoe izdanie aktov Lavry i ego značenie dlja vizantinovedenija," Viz. Vrem. 34 (1973) 49.

¹³A. P. Kazhdan, Armjane v sostave gospodstvujuščego klassa Vizantijskoj imperii v XI-XII vv. (Yerevan, 1975). See reviews by N. Garsoian in American Historical Review (June 1978) 703 f. and by W. Seibt in Byzantinoslavica 38 (1977) 50 f.

¹⁴W. Seibt, Die Skleroi (Vienna, 1976) 19 f.

¹⁵C. Toumanoff, "Caucasia and Byzantium," Traditio 27 (1971) 111-152.

¹⁶R. W. Thomson, "The Influence of their Environment on the Armenians in Exile in the Eleventh Century," Proceedings of the Thirteenth International Congress of Byzantine Studies (London, 1967) 436 f.

¹⁷V. A. Arutjunova-Fidanjan, Armjane-xalkedonity na vostočnyx granicax Vizantijskoj imperii (XI v.) (Yerevan, 1980).

¹⁸V. A. Arutjunova-Fidanjan, "Vizantijskie praviteli femy Iverija," Vestnik obščestvennyx nauk AN ArmSSR (1973) 2: 63-78; Arutjunova-Fidanjan, "Fema Vaspurakan," Viz. Vrem. 38 (1977) 80-93; Arutjunova-Fidanjan, "Vizantijskie praviteli Edessy v XI v.," Viz. Vrem. 35 (1973) 137-153.

¹⁹S. Vryonis, "Byzantine Images of the Armenians," 65-81 in R. G. Hovannisian (ed.) The Armenian Image in History and Literature (Los Angeles, 1981).

²⁰J. Migne, Patrologiae Cursus Completus (Series Latina, Paris, 1878-1890) 166, col. 447 D.

²¹*Ibid.*, 201, col. 178 A.

²²Mich. Andreopulus, Liber Syntipae, Zapiski Akademii Nauk, Serija Istor.-Filol. 11 (1912) No. 1, p. 2.9-12.



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Author(s): ALEXANDER KAZHDAN

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Some Little-Known or Misinterpreted Evidence about Kievan Rus' in Twelfth-Century Greek Sources

ALEXANDER KAZHDAN

Relations between Byzantium and Kievan Rus' in the tenth century¹ have always attracted more attention than those of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. For instance, in Levčenko's general survey less than 30 pages are dedicated to the twelfth century,² whereas the history of the tenth century occupies almost 300 pages. In Pašuto's book on the diplomacy of Rus', allocation of space seems to be more balanced; however, the chapter on the twelfth century³ is based primarily on Kievan sources and deals above all with ecclesiastical connections. Yet, there are some scattered data in Greek sources that have escaped scholarly attention or have been misinterpreted. Although they do not radically change our image of Rus'-Byzantine relations in this period, they do introduce some significant alterations into this picture. Together they suggest that Byzantium played a greater part on the northern shore of the Black Sea than either Levčenko or Pašuto assumed.

¹ The most recent publication on this topic is A. N. Saxarov, *Diplomatija Drevnej Rusi: IX-pervaja polovina X v.* (Moscow, 1980).

² M. V. Levčenko, *Očerki po istorii rusko-vizantijskix otnoženij* (Moscow, 1956), pp. 472-497.

³ V. T. Pašuto, *Vnešnjaja politika Drevnej Rusi* (Moscow, 1968), pp. 186-201. No more than three pages are dedicated to twelfth-century Rus' in D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth* (London, 1971), pp. 229-32. See also his "The Relations between Byzantium and Rus (eleventh to fifteenth centuries)," in *Meždunarodnyj kongress istoričeskix nauk*, vol. 1, no. 4 (Moscow, 1973), pp. 202-217, and "Byzance et la Russie de Kiev," *Messenger de l'Exarchat du Patriarche russe en Europe occidentale*, vol. 29 (1959), which was republished in his *Byzantium and the Slavs* (London, 1971), pt. 4, pp. 20-35. Quite recently, after this article was already written, M. V. Bibikov brought forth a general survey of Byzantine sources for the history of Rus' in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries: "Vizantijskie istočniki po istorii Rusi, narodov Severnogo Pričernomor'ja i Severnogo Kavkaza (XII-XIII vv.)," in *Drevnejšie gosudarstva na territorii SSSR* (Moscow, 1981-82), pp. 5-151. Here the author deals more with approaches to the material than with the material itself (the history of study, methodology, "the Athonian charters as a source," and so on).

It was G. G. Litavrin who first drew attention to a passage by Manuel Straboromanos, a contemporary of Alexius I, affirming that the emperor had acquired several regions, among them the area of the Cimmerian Bosphorus; according to Litavrin, this area encompassed both sides of the Bosphorus strait.⁴ Confirmation of this is to be found in a letter by Theophylact of Ochrid to Gregory Taronites written at the beginning of the twelfth century. There Theophylact mentions the onslaught of the Turks (Seljuks) who menaced "the Greek cities on the Pontos between the Tanais river and the sea of Maeotis."⁵ *Hellenides poleis* on the eastern (?) shore of the Azov sea were attacked during the reign of Alexius, if not by the Seljuks themselves, then by the Polovcians acting in alliance with them.

Byzantium continued to be interested in this area throughout the entire twelfth century. The Byzantine rhetor Michael, the pupil or nephew of the metropolitan of Thessalonica, left several speeches addressed to the emperor Manuel I. One of them can be dated to 1153, since the orator states that ten years of Manuel's reign have already passed.⁶ In this panegyric Michael praises both the emperor's good deeds and his victories over the Muslims, the Dacians on the Danube (meaning the Serbians), and the Gepids (i.e., the Hungarians) (p. 141.9-10). We are told that Manuel, after routing the Dacians, advanced together with his Dacian allies on the Gepids, crossed the river, and committed Pannonia to flames. The "satrap of the Gepids" (the Hungarian king) took flight, and the Byzantines achieved victory without a battle (p. 146.26-147.1), having taken many captives — at least ten men each (p. 147.7).

These events are well known from other Greek sources, both chronicles (those of Nicetas Choniates and Kinnamos) and poems (of Pseudo-Prodrornos). The Hungarians surrendered to Manuel in 1151. What is unique in Michael's speech, however, is the evidence he gives after his account of the victory over the Hungarians — evidence which, to my

⁴ G. G. Litavrin, "A propos de Tmutorokan," *Byzantion* 35 (1965): 221-234, and, with some corrections, his "Novye svedeniia o Severnom Pričernomor'e (XII v.)," in *Feodal'naja Rossija vo vsemirnoistoričeskom processe* (Moscow, 1972), pp. 237-242. The entire text was published by P. Gautier, "Le dossier d'un fonctionnaire d'Alexis Ier Comnène, Manuel Straboromanos," *Revue des études byzantines* 23 (1965): 191. The problem is not touched upon in D. Obolensky, "The Crimea and the North before 1204," *Archeion Pontu* 35 (1978): 123-133.

⁵ J.-P. Migne, ed., *Patrologiae ... Series Graeca* (hereafter PG), vol. 126, col. 412 A. On this letter, see S. I. Maslev, *Proizvedenija na Teofilakt Oxridski, arxiepiskop bulgarski, odnosjašči ce do bulgarskata istorija* (Fontes Graeci historiae byzantine, 9, no. 1) (Sofia, 1974), pp. 26ff. with bibliography.

⁶ W. Regel, *Fontes rerum byzantinorum*, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1892; reprinted Leipzig, 1982), pp. 135.17-20.

knowledge, has not yet been put to use by scholars.⁷ The author proclaims that the echo of Manuel's victory resounded as far as among the Tauroscythians, dwellers on the mainland, and among Sicilian islanders (p. 142.9-11). The Sicilians must have been Normans who were at that time at odds with Byzantium and who probably supported the Hungarians, while the antique ethnonym "Tauroscythians" doubtlessly referred to the inhabitants of Kievan Rus'.⁸

Thus Michael describes a broad anti-Byzantine coalition that included Hungary, Kiev, and Sicily, and the orator emphasizes how the "Tauroscythian," hearing the din of winged rumor, became confused and drooped his head in sorrow (p. 142.13-14). At the panegyric's end, Michael returns again to the subject of Kiev. He says that Manuel, year after year, expands his empire and takes more and more captives. "It is marvelous that you made the neighbors of yesterday's captives experience, in their turn, in proper sequence the same calamity" (p. 151.29-30). And he continues: "Your march is successful, and probably the ruler of the north (ὁ βορρᾶς) will accost you with a clear voice as you appear going north from the lake of Maeotis" (p. 152.1-3).

Who is the ruler of the north? I. Dujčev surmises that the term "the northerners" in John Mauropous designated Bulgarian tropes;⁹ by contrast, P. Diaconu saw in the northerners of Mauropous Varangian mercenaries.¹⁰ Neither the first nor the second identification will do in this case. Constantine Porphyrogenitus listed as northerners the Khazars, Hungarians, and Rus',¹¹ but by the twelfth century the Hungarians had moved far westward and the Khazars had ceased to be a significant power. Eustathius of Thessalonica established a list of peoples who frequently visited Constantinople in Manuel's day—besides the Muslims, Scythians (the inhabitants of the steppe), and Paeonians (Hungarians), he names those who dwell beyond the

⁷ The subject was treated only in my short note "Neizvestnoe grečeskoe svidetel'stvo o rusko-vizantijskix otnošenijax v XII v.," *Feodal'naja Rossija* (as in fn. 4), pp. 235ff. M. V. Bibikov, "Drevnjaja Rus' i Vizantija v svete novyx i maloizvestnyx vizantijskix istočnikov," *Vostočnaja Evropa v drevnosti i srednevekov'e* (Moscow, 1978), pp. 298ff., repeated my thesis without referring to my article.

⁸ On the term Tauroscythian in Byzantine texts, see E. I. Solomonyk, "Pro značennja termina 'tauroskify,'" *Arxeolohični pam'jatky URSR* (Kiev), 11 (1962): 153-157 (a quite incomplete list). See also her "Taury i Taurika (pro poxodžennja etnonima i toponima)," *Arxeolohija* (Kiev), 20 (1976): 46-50. Also Bibikov, "Vizantijskie istočniki," p. 63.

⁹ I. Dujčev, *Proučvanija vŭrxu bŭlgarskoto srednovekovie* (Sofia, 1945), p. 33.

¹⁰ P. Diaconu, *Les Petchénègues au Bas Danube* (Bucarest, 1970), p. 59, fn. 167.

¹¹ Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio* (Washington, D.C., 1969), cap. 13.24-5.

Istros (Danube) and those on whom the north wind breathes.¹² In a geographical treatise Eustathius expressly called "northerners" such "tribes" as the Germans, Alans, Tauri, Rus', and Khazars, as well as those whose names were simply borrowed from ancient sources: the Melanchlaeni, Hippemolgi, Geloni, Agathyrsi, and so on; Eustathius located them to the north of the Istros.¹³ John Tzetzes mentions northern peoples several times: first, he reckons among them the aforementioned Agathyrsi and Geloni, semi-legendary tribes of antiquity—it is significant that he locates them to the north of the Black Sea.¹⁴ Further, Tzetzes writes that the north wind breathes on the Scythians and on the Black Sea,¹⁵ both being evidently in the same area. His last and most important reference is a list of Scythian tribes, among whom he numbers the Abasgians, Alans, Sacae, Dacians, Sauromatae, the actual Scythians, the Rus' and "every other people on whom the north wind breathes."¹⁶ If not the only northerners, the Rus' were, in Byzantine eyes, the northern people par excellence.

We might even suggest that the \acute{o} βορρᾶς in Michael's speech was Jurij of Suzdal', Byzantium's ally in the struggle against Izjaslav of Kiev, who sided with Hungary. Michael's wording is not, however, clear; probably he did not mean a real expedition by Manuel, but only some plans cherished in Constantinople. But what matters is the apparent interest of Byzantium in the region on the Azov sea, very close to the area acquired, according to Straboromanos, by Alexius I.

In the edict of 1166, Manuel I assumed titles which were supposed to allude to his real or imagined victories; there he is called ruler over the Hungarians, Bosnians, Croatians, Georgians, Bulgarians, Serbs, and so forth; among those triumphal epithets is a series connected with the regions of the Crimea and the Azov sea, namely, those of the Zichians, Khazars, and Goths.¹⁷ The introduction of the epithets "of the Zichians,

¹² Eustathius of Thessalonica, *Opuscula* (Frankfurt a.M., 1832), p. 200.65-8.

¹³ C. Miller, *Geographi graeci minores*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1861), p. 269.18-26. It is noteworthy that the Bulgarians, named a little later in the text, are not included by Eustathius in the group of northerners.

¹⁴ John Tzetzes, *Historiae* (Naples, 1968), pt. 8, pp. 752-759. See also his *Epistulae* (Leipzig, 1972), p. 62.14-5. He stresses further that the Maeotis is very close to the north.

¹⁵ Tzetzes, *Historiae*, 8: 674.

¹⁶ Tzetzes, *Historiae*, 12: 897-900. On the "north" in Eustathius of Thessalonica, Michael the Rhetor, Nicholas Mesarites, and Pseudo-Prodrômus, see Bibikov, "Drevnjaja Rus' i Vizantija," pp. 299 ff.

¹⁷ The text has been discussed by many scholars. See, first of all, A. A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), pp. 140-45, and N. Bănescu, "La domination byzantine à Matracia (Tmutorokan), en Zichie, en Khazarie et en 'Russie' à

Khazars and Goths" could be explained by the expedition mentioned in Michael's speech.

A few years later, in the chrysobull of 1169, Manuel I expressly proclaimed that he regarded Tmutorokan' (τὰ Μάτραχα) and the enigmatic 'Ρωσία as parts of his empire.¹⁸ This statement is supported by a poem of John Tzetzes, in which the decisive word was corrected or, rather, distorted by the editor, Kiessling. In this poem Tzetzes complained about the domination of evil and illiterate men who should have dwelled in the land of frogs (γῆ βατράχων) and not in Constantinople.¹⁹ The land of frogs was created by the classicist Kiessling, to whom the manuscript reading γῆ Ματράχων remained unintelligible (Professor J. Gouillard was kind enough to confirm for me that Paris. 2750, fol. 205 in fact has γῆ Ματράχων); nonetheless, the manuscript reading is correct—Tzetzes contrasted the capital with the distant provinces of Tmutorokan'.

There is one further source which can shed new light on the Byzantine possessions in the area of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, namely, letter no. 3 of Michael Choniates, addressed to a certain Constantine Pegonites. Choniates is a famous writer, and his letter has been studied by many scholars, including Stadtmüller, the author of a monograph on Michael Choniates. The letter was written, according to Stadtmüller, before 1182,²⁰ and was pervaded by Michael's care for his younger brother, the future historian Nicetas.

The letter says that Pegonites was assigned to collect taxes (τῶν φορολογικῶν ... πραγμάτων); this fact, by the way, permits us to guess that our Pegonites was the same person as (or a relative of) a certain Pegonites, the praktor of Samos in the reign of Manuel I.²¹ The essence of the problem, however, is not the identification of Constantine Pegonites, but the localization of his activity.

"You live next to the Chalybes-smiths," wrote Choniates, and basing

l'époque des Comnènes," *Bulletin de la section historique de l'Académie Roumaine* 22, no. 2 (1941): 71ff. A new edition is C. Mango, "The Conciliar Edict of 1166," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 17 (1963): 324.1-11.

¹⁸ F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches*, vol. 2 (Munich and Berlin, 1925), no. 1488.

¹⁹ John Tzetzes, *Historiarum variarum chiliades* (Leipzig, 1826), pp. 515.151-2.

²⁰ G. Stadtmüller, *Michael Choniates, Metropolit von Athen* (Rome, 1934), p. 116. The letter has been published by S. Lampros, *Μιχαὴλ Ἀκομινάτου τὰ σωζόμενα*, vol. 2 (Athens, 1880), p. 5.

²¹ F. Miklosich and I. Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca*, vol. 6 (Vienna, 1890), pp. 107.33, 111.30, 112.4. F. Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 1411, dates praktor Pegonites's activity to the period before 1157, which makes his identification with Constantine not very probable.

himself on these words, Lampros, the editor, located Pegonites's activity in Armenia. Stadtmüller differs somewhat from Lampros, since he surmises that Pegonites was sent to Pontos in Asia Minor. Both Lampros and Stadtmüller followed the ancient tradition which had located the Chalybes in either Pontos or Armenia. I think, however, that both scholars were wrong, since they did not take into consideration the entire context of the letter.

Even before Lampros had brought out his edition, Uspenskij studied Michael Choniates's works. Although he touched on the letter to Pegonites only superficially and did not try to substantiate his idea, he expressed an opinion which seems to me more reasonable than the traditional localization. Uspenskij asserted that Pegonites "was probably a tax collector in a region close to Rus'."²² Let us scrutinize the text of the letter with this in mind.

Choniates says to Pegonites: "Now you are a neighbour of (ἄγχιστοι-
πεῖς) the Hyperboreans and oft times visit the regions (τὰ κλίματα)
of Pontos that were notorious in antiquity for their bad treatment
of strangers." In order to locate the regions here described, we should
take into consideration three points: (1) Pegonites dwelt close to the
Hyperboreans; (2) he had frequently visited the regions of Pontos
notorious in antiquity for their bad treatment of strangers; (3) these
regions were called τὰ κλίματα ("klimata"). Let us investigate these
points one by one.

Certainly, Choniates would not have designated the inhabitants of
Pontos in Asia Minor or of Armenia as the Hyperboreans. In fact, in
other letters he identifies the Hyperboreans with the Cimmerians and
speaks also of a Scythian or Hyperborean desert (p. 100.23-4, 101.4,
216.28). Moreover, his younger brother Nicetas, who was a subordinate
of Pegonites, used the term "the Scythians-Hyperboreans" specifically
for the Rus'.²³ The ethnicon of the Hyperboreans leads us not to
Armenia, but rather to the northern shore of the Black Sea.

²² F. Uspenskij, "Neizdannye reči i pis'ma Mixaila Akominata," *Žurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosvěščenija* 201 (1879): 390. See also his "Sočinenija Mixaila Akominata," *Zapiski Novorossijskogo universiteta* 32 (1881): 204. For a fuller treatment, see A. Kazhdan, "Vizantijskij podatnoj sborščik na beregax Kimmerijskogo Bospora v konce XII v." in *Problemy obščestvenno-političeskoj istorii Rossii i slavjanskix stran* (Moscow, 1963), pp. 93-101, and, more briefly, G. G. Litavrin and A. P. Kazhdan, "Otnošenija Drevnej Rusi i Vizantii v XI-pervoj polovine XIII v.," in *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies* (London, New York, and Toronto, 1967), p. 77f.

²³ Nicetas Choniates, *Historia* (Berlin, New York, 1975), p. 129.29-30.

The Greeks used the word Pontos as the name for the Black Sea in general, and specifically for its southern coast. However, Michael Choniates speaks in his letter not simply of Pontos, but of those regions of Pontos which were notorious in antiquity for their cruel treatment of strangers. Hence he alludes to the ancient legend of the Tauri, who sacrificed strangers to Artemis. Euripides's tragedy *Iphigenia in Tauris* is based on this legend, and Strabo VIII,3.6, affirms that the Black Sea was called "Inhospitable" because of the ferocity of the tribes that lived around it, in particular the Scythians, who sacrificed strangers. The legend about the inhospitality of the Tauri was well known in Byzantium in the twelfth century; Eustathius of Thessalonica mentions it in his *Commentary on Dionysius Periegetes*.²⁴

But if the Pontos in Choniates's letter is Tauris, then his usage of "klimata" becomes understandable. Though this term could be applied to any geographical zone,²⁵ it also had a more specific meaning; as Vasil'evskij demonstrated, "the expression 'klimata' was often used to designate the southern area of the Crimea."²⁶ I will not repeat here the numerous sources cited by Vasil'evskij; instead, I point to a single passage from Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*De adm.imp.*, cap. 42, title), in which the imperial author promised to give a description of regions "as far as the Khazar city of Σάρκελ (Sarkel) and Ῥωσία and the Νεκρόπυλα, which are in the Sea of Pontos, near the Dnieper River; and as far as Kherson together with the Bosporus, between which there are the cities of the Klimata." The Byzantine governor of the Crimea was called the strategos of the klimata.²⁷ Thus Choniates's usage of the title "Klimata of Pontos" seems to confirm our suggestion that Pegonites's activity should be located a short distance from the Crimea.

In another paragraph Choniates defines Pegonites's location in different words: "Tauroscythia, which lies on the other side of the strait, scares me and I am afraid the evil habit of killing strangers might come across from there." The new phrasing conveys essentially the same idea: Choniates expresses in both sentences the same anxiety lest Pegonites imitate the cruelty of his present-day neighbors, who dwell, as he says in the first case, in the klimata of Pontos or, as he says in the second phrase,

²⁴ Müller, *Geographi*, 2:271.35-7.

²⁵ E. Honigmann, *Die sieben Klimata* (Heidelberg, 1929), p. 231.

²⁶ V. G. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy*, vol. 2, pt. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1909), p. 196f.

²⁷ N. Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IX^e et X^e siècles* (Paris, 1972), p. 353.

in Tauroscythia. The klimata of Pontos are identical with Tauroscythia, that is, the Crimea.

Thus, according to Choniates, Pegonites was active close to the Crimea. But what does this mean? Is it not possible to understand Choniates as indicating that Pegonites was sent to the southern coast of the Black Sea, the area that had long been connected with the Crimea by a direct route?

Sailing the direct route from the Crimean shore to Sinope on the southern coast of the Black Sea took about five days even in the fourteenth century: the metropolitan Pimen sailed past Kaffa and Surož (Sugdeia) in the Crimea on 5 June 1389 and arrived at Sinope on June 10;²⁸ Eustathius of Thessalonica gives a shorter time (perhaps drawn from ancient tradition), but even according to his information, the way from the Ram's forehead in Cimmeria to Karambis in Paphlagonia could last three days.²⁹

We have to bear in mind that Choniates's contemporaries were fearful of the open sea and preferred to sail, in the words of Theophylact of Ochrid, "nearly touching the shore with the oar."³⁰ Especially important for our purpose is a letter by Eustathius of Thessalonica addressed most probably to Nicephorus Comnenus, who died about 1173. Eustathius sent his letter from Constantinople to the island of Kos, to which Nicephorus was assigned as ἀρχων. Eustathius refers to his letter as "coming across the sea" and complains that tidings about Nicephorus arrive very slowly, as the fathomless sea lies between the two friends.³¹ If Constantinople seemed to be separated from Kos by a fathomless deep, it is quite natural to assume that a Byzantine of the twelfth century could not conceive of the way from Sinope to the coast of the Crimea as being a short one, particularly since the voyage across the boundless expanse of the Black Sea appeared at that time highly dangerous. The same Eustathius, while relating that the ancients found the Black Sea unfriendly to travelers and dangerous for ships, adds that this opinion had remained valid until his day.³² Even coastal navigation in the Black Sea (between Trebizond and Constantinople) was for Choniates's contemporaries a difficult and painful experience.³³

²⁸ M. N. Tixomirov, "Puti iz Rossii v Vizantiju v XIV-XV vv.," in *Vizantijskie očerki* (Moscow, 1961), p. 7.

²⁹ Müller, *Geographi*, 2: 244.15-25.

³⁰ *PG*, vol. 126, col. 501c.

³¹ Eustathius, *Opuscula*, pp. 319.53-5.

³² C. Müller, *Geographi*, pp. 244.5-8.

³³ L. Petit, "Monodie de Théodore Prodrome sur Etienne Skylitzès, métropolitain de

We should acknowledge that Pegonites, who was active close to the Hyperboreans in Tauroscythia and often visited the klimata of Pontos, was a Byzantine official on the northern, not on the southern, shore of the Black Sea.

Let us return once more to the Chalybes-smiths. We must not conclude from Choniates's letter that Pegonites necessarily dwelt next door to the Chalybes, as Lampros and Stadtmüller interpreted the text. "Or else (ἢ τάχα, lit. 'are you probably')," he writes, "do you live in the proximity of the Chalybes-smiths ... so that you could have armed your love with a Chalybian sword?"—a question rather than an affirmation. Let us assume nevertheless that Choniates gave a positive answer. In this case it would be relevant to understand who his Chalybes were. Byzantine authors have been often rebuked for the looseness of their ethnic terminology; such names as Persians, Turks, Scythians were severally applied to a broad range of various peoples. Eustathius, in his *Commentary on the Iliad*, quoted Strabo (XII, 3.20-21), who had identified the Chalybes with the Halizoni, or Alazones, who in turn are called Scythians.³⁴ Thus Choniates's friend did not exclude the possibility that the Chalybes were of Scythian stock.

The ethnicon "Chalybes" had the connotation "skillful smiths." Eustathius, following Strabo, emphasizes that the Chalybes once possessed silver mines and now have mines of iron ore. Who, then, could have been the Chalybes-smiths of Michael Choniates?

Abaev has expressed the hypothesis that the medieval name for Kerch, "Kr"čev," was connected with the vocational term "k"rčij," meaning "smith, moulder."³⁵ Were that true, it would be natural to assume that medieval Kerch was a developed center of metallurgy, and in that case we could not exclude the possibility that Choniates had Kerch in mind when he spoke of Pegonites's stay not far from the smiths.

This suggestion may be supported by the words of Choniates that we have left unexplained until now. He defined Tauroscythia as a region located on the other side (τὸ ἀντίπορθμον) of the strait. If the Greek word πορθμός (lit. 'ferry or place crossed by a ferry') could be, albeit

Trébizonde," *Izvestija Russkogo arxeologičeskogo instituta v Konstantinopole* 8 (1902): 11.171; see also 13.228-9.

³⁴ Eustathius of Thessalonica, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentia*, vol. 1 (Leiden, 1971), pp. 571 ff. (on II. 2:857).

³⁵ V. I. Abaev, "Iz istorii slov. Drevnerusskoe kūrčij 'kuznec' i toponim Kerč," *Voprosy jazykoznaniia*, 1959, no. 1, pp. 96 ff. A different etymology of the toponym Kerch/Kerč is proposed by O. N. Trubačev, "Slavjanskije ètimologii," *Ètimologičeskie issledovanija po russkomu jazyku* 2 (1962): 39 ff.

rarely, applied to a sea in general, ἀντίπορθμος is attested only in the sense of "across the strait, on the opposite side of the strait." Thus it is more probable that Choniates had in mind not Tauroscythia located on the Black Sea, but rather Tauroscythia separated from Pegonites's district by a strait, by a narrow line of water. The strait in question can be only the Cimmerian Bosphorus.

Thus Choniates depicts Pegonites as a tax collector active in the area of Tmutorokan'. Tauroscythia is located on the other side of the strait, perhaps around the town of smiths, Kerch-Korčev. Choniates's letter guides us to the same region as was mentioned in the chrysobull of 1169.

In another letter Choniates, writing to his friend Michael Autoreianos, mentioned that his brother Nicetas was sent "directly to Paphlagonia" (vol. 2, p. 7.20). Since this letter (no. 5) was dispatched later than that to Pegonites (no. 3), it seems quite feasible that Nicetas received his new assignment while still on the Cimmerian Bosphorus and went "directly" across the Black Sea to his new province without visiting Constantinople.

Choniates's letter to Pegonites permits us to surmise that Byzantium around 1180 possessed a real authority on the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and that Byzantine officials were collecting taxes in those parts. A Byzantine seal of a certain Michael, archon of Matracha, Zichia, and all of Khazaria, leads us to the same area. Bănescu, who dated this seal to the end of the eleventh century, asserted that Byzantium at that time subdued vast territories along the coast of the Caucasus and in the steppe around the Azov sea.³⁶ Soloviev demonstrated that Bănescu's localization of Zichia and Khazaria was erroneous;³⁷ for example, the term Khazaria referred at that time to the Crimea rather than to the vast steppe on the Lower Volga. However, Soloviev's idea that Michael the archon of Matracha, Zichia, and Khazaria should be identified with the Rus' prince of Tmutorokan', Oleg Svjatoslavič, is not valid. Archons of different Byzantine towns are known,³⁸ and the archon of Matracha could have been a Byzantine governor—the more so since from Alexius I to Manuel I, Byzantium exercised a certain power in this region.

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³⁶ Bănescu, "La domination byzantine," p. 57f.

³⁷ A. Soloviev, "Domination byzantine ou russe au nord de la Mer Noire à l'époque des Comnènes?," in *Akten des XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongresses* (Munich, 1960), p. 572.

³⁸ H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer* (Paris, 1966), pp. 54-61; on the seal of Michael see p. 58, fn. 1.

The Rus' were active in Byzantium during the twelfth century, and Mošin has showed convincingly how deeply they were involved in Byzantine political life of that period.³⁹ The corresponding evidence contained both in the Rus' chronicle and in Kinnamos has also been used many times. Less known is information conveyed by several minor Byzantine sources of the twelfth century; thus Laurent has published a seal dated in the eleventh or twelfth century with the name of a certain John the Rusin on whom the title of "protovestēs" was bestowed.⁴⁰ The inscription made on an encolpion (to be dated in the twelfth century) mentions another Rusin, Theodore, who claimed to have belonged to a princely family.⁴¹ The "Rus'" topic is constantly present in the works of leading writers. If the evidence concerning political events has already been collected and thoroughly studied, the so-called *kulturgeschichtliche* testimonies, by contrast, have attracted little attention. Even if their content is meager, the abundance of this evidence itself testifies to the considerable interest of twelfth-century Byzantines in the life of their northern neighbors. Tzetzes wrote to the metropolitan of Dristra about an inkstand made of "fish bone" (i.e., walrus's tusk) and describes the object as being "of Tauric or Rus' carving."⁴² While commenting on this in the *Historiae*, Tzetzes notes that the Tauri and the Rus' are the same people.⁴³ Though in the letter to the metropolitan of Dristra Tzetzes exclaimed that he could not speak the "barbarian language" so as to communicate with his slave Vsevolod-Theodore, who was of Mysian, not Rus' origin,⁴⁴ he bragged in the epilogue to his *Theogonia* that he knew various foreign languages and could accost the Rus' by saying: "Zdraste, brate, sestrica" and "Dobra deni" ("Hello, brother [and] sister" and "Good morning").⁴⁵ Tzetzes was interested in the geography and toponymy of the area north of the Black Sea. His explanation for the

³⁹ V. Mošin, "Russkie na Afone i rusko-vizantijskie otnošenija v XI-XII vv.," *Byzantinoslavica* (hereafter *Bsl*), 9 (1947): 55-85, and 11 (1950): 32-60.

⁴⁰ V. Laurent, *La collection Orghidan* (Paris, 1952), no. 69.

⁴¹ S. Lampros, "Ho Markianos kōdix 524," *Nēos Ἑλληνομνήμων* 8 (1911): no. 254.

⁴² Tzetzes, *Epistulae*, p. 119.5-8. On this letter, see J. Shepard, "Tzetzes' Letters to Leo at Dristra," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 6 (1979): 196-198 (translation), 215-221 (commentary).

⁴³ Tzetzes, *Historiae*, 11: 872-876.

⁴⁴ Tzetzes, *Epistulae*, p. 120.17-18.

⁴⁵ H. Hunger, "Zum Epilog der Theogonie des Johannes Tzetzes," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 46 (1953): 305.26-8, reprinted in his *Byzantinische Grundlagenforschung* (London, 1973).

local name of the Maeotis is many times commented on;⁴⁶ less known is his evidence concerning the marvellous lake of Siaka or Siachar, in which the water is so light that even the foliage falling on its surface would sink to the bottom.⁴⁷ Tzetzes located this strange lake in the land of the Cimmerians, whose dwellings were scattered in ravines and forests that never saw the sun. If we assume that this story hints at Karelia, with its mountains, woods, lakes, and endless winter nights, the name Siaka could be identified with the Karelian lake Seg-ozero (the lake of Seg); but the identification of legendary regions is always very dubious.

A nodding acquaintance with the Rus' language may be found in several Byzantine texts of the period. The word "zubr" (wild ox) is used by Nicetas Choniates,⁴⁸ while Eustathius of Thessalonica found in a "barbarian" language a faint echo of the Homeric word μήκων 'poppy,' in the form μάκων,⁴⁹ readily recognizeable from the Slavic or Rus' *mak*. In another work Eustathius said that some tribes prepared an intoxicating, winelike drink from barley, and the "semi-barbarians" called it οὐλοβῖναι; according to Eustathius, this word stemmed from the Greek οὐλαί designating barley-corns, and the Latin *vinum* 'wine'. The etymology is artificial and wrong; as a matter of fact, *ulobinai* is a slightly distorted form of the old Rus' word *olovina*, meaning fermented liquor made from wheat or barley; the word has been used by Rus' medieval translators to transfer the Greek σίκερα and ζῦθος 'beer'.⁵⁰ Even more relevant is another piece of evidence from Eustathius: he says that the Egyptians, as well as, later, some Scythian tribes, used to carve

⁴⁶ Tzetzes, *Historiae*, 8: 760-771. See Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1958), p. 343, with references to previous articles on the subject.

⁴⁷ Tzetzes, *Historiae*, 12: 847-852. The image was very dear to Tzetzes; see, for instance, H. Hunger, "Johannes Tzetzes, Allegorien zur Odyssee, Buch 1-12," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 49 (1956): 298; another version of this story is reported in Tzetzes's Life of Saint Lucia (A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Varia graeca sacra* [St. Petersburg, 1909], p. 82.9-12), a curious hagiographic work frequently elaborating on the topics touched upon in Tzetzes's *Historiae*. Bibikov, "Vizantijskie istočniki," p. 66, mentions Siaka, referring, however, not to these works of Tzetzes, but to his scholia to Lycophron, where I could not find a trace of this fabulous lake. Bibikov's identification of Siaka with the Sivash does not seem valid: there are no mountains around the Sivash, and its salted brine is somewhat heavier than normal water.

⁴⁸ Choniates, *Historia*, p. 333.52. On the Crimean fish βερζῖτικον, see Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1958), p. 89.

⁴⁹ Eustathius of Thessalonica, *Commentarii ad Iliadem*, 2: 584.21-4.

⁵⁰ Migne, *PG*, 136, col. 680 D. See I. I. Sreznevskij, *Materialy dlja slovarja drevnerusskogo jazyka*, vol. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1902), pp. 660 ff. The Slavic origin of the word has not been recognized by Ph. Kukules, *Thessalonikes Eustathiu ta laographika*, vol. 1 (Athens, 1950), p. 214.

letters on wooden boards and boxes, and now these ξύλινα βιβλιδάρια 'wooden books' are common among the inhabitants of Tauris.⁵¹ As van der Valk, Eustathius's commentator, notes, it is quite probable that the Byzantine writer referred to a contemporary usage among the Rus'.

There are other important observations concerning the northern shore of the Black Sea in Eustathius's *Commentary on the Iliad*: he knows that "up until now" (εἰσέτι) the burning of the dead remains habitual among the "northern barbarians";⁵² he mentions (following Athenaeus) that the Borysthenes (Dnieper) sometimes has violet-colored water;⁵³ he describes the Alan fashion of cutting hair to resemble a bowl.⁵⁴ And in another work, his satire on monastic life, Eustathius speaks with indignation of monastic luxury — the monk's food included roe of fish that the river Tanais brings to the Black Sea.⁵⁵

Byzantine poets of the twelfth century do not neglect to mention the Rus', albeit usually in a quite vague context. An anonymous poet praises Manuel I, who frightened "the entire people of Rus'," and won trophies over six kings — those of the Germans, Carinthians, Rus', Hungarians, Czechs, and Poles (Λέχοι).⁵⁶ We may tentatively surmise that these poems refer to the same events as those described by Michael in the speech analyzed above, but the attribution of these victories remains precarious, and even if attached to some concrete Byzantine expeditions, these scanty lines cannot be made to yield much meaning.

Prodromos indicates several times that τὸ Γαλατικόν was trembling before John II. Since τὸ Γαλατικόν or Γαλάται appear in Prodromos together with the Scythians and Dalmatians, it would be natural to connect them with the principedom of Halych.⁵⁷ However, this infor-

⁵¹ Eustathius, *Commentarii*, 2: 272.6-12.

⁵² Eustathius, *Commentarii*, 1: 69.20-1.

⁵³ Eustathius, *Commentarii*, 3: 150.27-9.

⁵⁴ Eustathius of Thessalonica, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem*, vol. 4 (Leipzig, 1830), p. 275 (1292.61-3).

⁵⁵ Eustathius, *Opuscula*, pp. 231.5-10.

⁵⁶ Lampros, "Ho Markianos kōdix," no. 318.13, 320.6-7. See S. Šestakov, "Zametki k stixotvorenijam *codicis Marciani graeci 524*," *Vizantijskij Vremennik* (hereafter *VizVrem*), 24 (1923-1926): 49f.

⁵⁷ W. Hörandner, *Theodoros Prodromos: Historische Gedichte* (Vienna, 1974), no. 1.91 and 95, 4.225, 44.112. On the relationship between Byzantium and Halych/Galich, see E. Frances, "Les relations russo-byzantines au XII^e siècle et la domination de Galicie au Bas-Danube," *Bsl* 20 (1959): 50-62; O. Jurewicz, "Aus der Geschichte der Beziehungen zwischen Byzanz und Russland in der zweiten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts," in *Byzantinische Beiträge* (Berlin, 1964), pp. 333-357. Neither contains any reference to Prodromos. Bibikov, "Vizantijskie istočniki," p. 65f., listed Prodromos's poems concerning "Galatians" — he only "forgets" to mention that all his information is borrowed from my article, "Dva novyx vizantijskix pamjatnika XII stoletija," *VizVrem* 24 (1964): 77.

mation, too, is far from being explicit. More important and more complicated is another poem by Prodnomos, in which he claims proudly that his uncle, named after Christ, was a bishop (πρόεδρος) of the Rus' land.⁵⁸

Scholars have long ago noticed these words and juxtaposed them with the title to the rules established by John II, metropolitan of Kiev, and addressed to a certain monk Jacob; in this title John is given the epithet "called Christ's prophet." The suggestion has been advanced that the Greek metropolitan Christ Prodnomos was transformed by the translator into "Christ's prophet."⁵⁹ This hypothesis is attractive but not sufficiently founded.

First, the Greek πρόδρομος ought to have been translated *predteča* 'precursor', rather than *prorok* 'prophet'. It is far-fetched to suggest that the translator had it in mind that the Precursor, i.e., John the Baptist, was also called "Christ's prophet." Secondly, a Byzantine, when taking the monastic habit, usually chose a name which began with the same letter as his baptismal name. Hence the transformation of a Christ into a John is unlikely to have taken place. Moreover, even if Prodnomos's uncle had been baptized Christ in Byzantium, he was known as John in the Kievan state, and it would have been strange for him to sign his works with his old secular name, Christ Prodnomos. Further, there was no such baptismal name as Christ among the Byzantines: "named after Christ" (χριστός ὀνομασμένος) meant Manuel in the language of Prodnomos and his contemporaries since in the Gospel (Math. 1:23) the name Emmanuel is interpreted as "God with us" and applied to Jesus. Prodnomos calls Manuel I "emperor who has God's name."⁶⁰ The epithets "named after God" (θεονυμούμενος) or "after Christ" (χριστοκλυτώνυμος or χριστώνυμος) were also applied to Manuel,⁶¹ just as the epithet χαριτώνυμος designated John. Finally, Prodnomos was born around 1100, whereas John II occupied the Kievan see from 1077 through 1088. Since Prodnomos claims that he was brought up in piety by his grandfather and his uncle, "named after Christ," this

⁵⁸ Hörandner, *Theodoros Prodnomos*, no. 59.188-9.

⁵⁹ This hypothesis, already advanced by V. Vasil'evskij (*Trudy*, 1: 174f.), has been recently supported by Hörandner, *Theodoros Prodnomos*, p. 23. See, however, my objections in "Dva novyx vizantijskix pamjatnika," p. 66f.

⁶⁰ Hörandner, *Theodoros Prodnomos*, no. 30.358-59.

⁶¹ K. Krumbacher, *Michael Glykas* (Munich, 1894), p. 450.71; C. Neumann, *Griechische Geschichtsschreiber und Geschichtsquellen im XII. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1888), pp. 61.7, 67.71; W. Regel, *Fontes rerum byzantinorum*, vol. 2 (Petrograd, 1917; reprinted Leipzig, 1982), p. 211.19.

uncle could not have been John II, who had died a generation before Prodromos's birth.

Thus there are no grounds for identifying Prodromos's uncle with John II. Since his name was, in all probability, Manuel, he could be the same person as Manuel, the bishop of Smolensk, whose seal was published by Laurent.⁶² Having become bishop of Smolensk in about 1137, he could quite easily have been Prodromos's uncle. But even this identification is no more than a hypothesis.

These scattered pieces of evidence, however insignificant each may seem, are collectively of considerable value. They testify to the real interest in the Kievan state expressed by Byzantine society in the twelfth century.

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⁶² V. Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux de l'Empire byzantin*, vol. 5, pt. 1 (Paris, 1963), no. 795. On his activity (at least until 1156), see M.D. Priselkov, *Očerki po cerkovno-političeskoj istorii Kievskoj Rusi X-XII vv.* (St. Petersburg, 1913), pp. 348-389.

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Author(s): A. Kazhdan

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THE IMAGE OF THE MEDICAL DOCTOR IN BYZANTINE LITERATURE OF THE TENTH TO TWELFTH CENTURIES

A. KAZHDAN

One Late Roman emperor, Theodosius II, and two Byzantine *basileis*, Basil I and John II, died from hunting accidents.¹ Since it is so early, I will leave aside the story of Theodosius' death and concentrate on the two cases that took place in 886 and 1143 respectively. Both are minutely described in contemporary (or almost contemporary) sources that do not differ substantially from each other. Basil is said to have been lifted up by a huge deer that pushed his antlers under the emperor's belt and carried him off; once he had been released by a servant who managed to cut the belt, the emperor ordered the man to be arrested, as if he had drawn his sword to murder the prince. "After suffering severe internal pains and hemorrhage of the stomach, nine days later he paid our common debt . . . leaving his scepter to his sons." Such is the version of the Life of Patriarch Euthymius. It is generally supported by both the so-called *Logothetes-Sippe* and the anonymous chronicler widely known as Joseph Genesius.²

Two Byzantine historians, John Cinnamus and Nicetas Choniates, relate Emperor John's end. The emperor was out hunting in Cilicia; he encoun-

tered a boar, wielded a spear, but awkwardly touched a quiver full of poisoned arrows and wounded his wrist, which became inflamed. The doctors who were called in discussed what should be done and decided to lance the swelling. The treatment failed and John died.³

There is a substantial difference between the two stories: the authors of the tenth century make no mention of physicians. None of the chroniclers speaks even briefly of doctors who tended the dying emperor, although they describe the fatal hemorrhage of the stomach. The twelfth-century authors, on the other hand, are very explicit as to the role of the *paidēs iatron* (Cinnamus) or *iatroi*, *asklepiadai* (Choniates). "To some it seemed best to lance the swelling, but its unripeness disquieted the others, and they preferred that it be relieved in some other way. But as it seems that he had to fare ill, the opinion for surgery carried the day." And so forth.

Now we face the problem. Is this difference between the two stories a random phenomenon, a reflection of personal and incidental tendencies only, or are we entitled to suggest that the place of the doctor in Byzantine society changed between the first half of the tenth century, when the chroniclers were able to ignore the doctors' call to Basil's deathbed, and the end of the twelfth century, when Choniates and Cinnamus centered the story of John's demise on the doctors' attitude? Let us con-

[The reader is referred to the list of abbreviations at the end of the volume.]

¹ R. Guillard, *Etudes byzantines* (Paris, 1959), 11 f.

² *Vita Euthymii Patriarchae CP*, ed. and trans. P. Karlin-Hayter (Brussels, 1970), 2–5; Leo Grammaticus, *Chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1842), 262.1–11; Josephus Genesius, *Regum libri quattuor*, ed. A. Lesmüller-Werner and I. Thurn (Berlin and New York, 1978), 91.29–32. The name "Genesius" has been added by a later hand in the single manuscript; "Joseph" is the result of arbitrary identifications. The episode is completely disregarded by the Life of St. Theophano, which asserts that Basil died from "ailment and old age" (*BHG*, 1794: E. Kurtz, *Zwei griechische Texte über die hl. Theophano* [St. Petersburg, 1898], 12.20–21, 14.4).

³ Ioannes Cinnamus, *Epitome*, ed. A. Meineke (Bonn, 1836), 24 f. (see John Kinnamos, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, trans. Ch. M. Brand [New York, 1976], 27–29); Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. I. A. van Dieten (Berlin, New York, 1975), 40 f. Both authors have, probably, used a common source. On this episode, R. Browning, "The Death of John II Comnenus," *Byzantion*, 21 (1961), 236.

trol our observation by shifting to a different type of source—to Byzantine epistolography.

Among the relatively vast correspondence of Photius (the second half of the ninth century), containing more than two hundred letters, only two were addressed to an *iatros*, the monk Acacius.⁴ But was this monk really a doctor, or rather a doctor of moral pains, as some saints used to be called? At any rate, Photius speaks here of a cure for the passions, not of the healing of physical illnesses.

Even fewer traces of the medical profession are to be found in tenth-century collections of letters: none of about two hundred letters dispatched by Nicholas Mysticus⁵ was addressed to a physician, nor are there physicians among the addressees of Leo Choiosphactes, Theodore Daphnopates or Nicetas the Magistros.⁶ No letter to a doctor was written by an anonymous teacher of the tenth century;⁷ and in the tenth-century epistolaria containing several hundreds of letters sent by various persons, none was addressed to a physician.⁸ We do not know to what extent the epistolary corpus would coincide with, or represent proportionally, the social structure of addressees in actually dispatched letters; but if we assume that some individuals of the tenth century did write to doctors, we have to recognize that they preferred not to include those letters in their collections. The situation changes drastically as we move towards the twelfth century.

Theophylact of Ochrid sent several letters to Michael Pantechnes, the *iatros* of Emperor Alexius I.⁹ According to one of the lemmata (PG, 126, col. 464C), Michael was Theophylact's pupil. Michael Pantechnes is mentioned in the *Alexiad* of Anna Comnena as one of the doctors who attended the dying Alexius in 1117–18.¹⁰ The lead seal of a certain *proedros* or *protoproedros* Michael Pantechnes is

preserved, but the identification of both personages is not assured.¹¹ It is also debatable whether the *proedros* and *proximos* Pantechnes, the addressee of two other letters of Theophylact, was our Michael or another person, namely John Pantechnes, also a correspondent of Theophylact.¹² Michael was not the only medical friend of Theophylact: a series of letters was also sent to Nicholas Callicles, who is designated as *archiatros* in a lemma (PG, 126, col. 440D). Again, the “senior physician” Callicles is known from other sources: Anna Comnena includes him in the list of the three “best doctors” (*koryphaioi ton iatron*), side by side with Michael Pantechnes and a certain eunuch Michael (*Alexiad* 3.236.20–24); Callicles was a court poet,¹³ and he is considered as one of the possible candidates for the authorship of the anonymous dialogue *Timarion*.¹⁴ The third medical addressee of Theophylact was the emperor's *iatros* Nicetas.¹⁵

The collection of letters of Michael Italicus is not large: it contains about thirty-five missives. Even so, two of them were addressed to physicians. One of these men is merely called *aktouarios* in the lemma, but P. Gautier is inclined to identify him with the above-mentioned Michael Pantechnes.¹⁶ The second letter was sent to an *iatros*, Leipsiotes by name, who is otherwise unknown; according to Michael Italicus, he was the most “philosophical” and the most literate (*grammatikotatos*) among physicians, and we can hypothesize that Leipsiotes, like Callicles, was a writer as well.¹⁷

Three of the 107 letters of John Tzetzes' epistolographic collection are intended for physicians: the *archiatros* Michael, a “long-armed” person who provided Tzetzes with partridges from Adrianople; the imperial doctor Basil Megistus, Tzetzes' “lord and brother,” who was not only versed, according to Tzetzes, in the skill of the *asklepiadai*, not only brilliant in general scholarship, not only distinguished by pleasant bearing, by reliability and prudence, but—what counted particularly for a

⁴Photius, *Epistolae*, ed. I. N. Barlettas (London, 1864), 428, nos. 106–7. There are no medical addressees in the collection published by A. I. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Svjatejšego patriarcha Fotija XLV neizdannyh pisem* (St. Petersburg, 1896).

⁵Nicholas I Patriarch of Constantinople, *Letters*, ed. R. J. H. Jenkins and L. G. Westerink (Washington, 1973); two more letters are included in Nicholas' *Miscellaneous Writings*, ed. L. G. Westerink (Washington, 1981), nos. 193 and 198.

⁶Léon Choerosphactès . . . *Biographie—Correspondance*, ed. G. Kolias (Athens, 1939); Nicetas Magistros, *Lettres d'un exilé*, ed. L. G. Westerink (Paris, 1973); Théodore Daphnopatès, *Correspondance*, ed. J. Darrouzès and L. G. Westerink (Paris, 1978).

⁷R. Browning and B. Laourdas, “To keimenon ton epistolon tou kodikos BM 36749,” *Επ. Έτ. Βυζ. Σπ.*, 27 (1957), 151–212.

⁸J. Darrouzès, *Epistoliers byzantins du X^e siècle* (Paris, 1960).

⁹S. Mashev in *Fontes Graeci Historiae Bulgariae IX*, 1 (Sofia, 1974), 28–32.

¹⁰Anne Comnène, *Alexiade*, ed. and trans. B. Leib (Paris, 1945), 231.2, 236.22.

¹¹G. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'empire byzantin* (Paris, 1884), 687; Ch. Diehl, “De la signification du titre de ‘proèdre’ à Byzance,” *Mélanges G. Schlumberger*, 1 (Paris, 1924), 116.

¹²J. Darrouzès, in Georges et Démétrios Tornikès, *Lettres et discours* (Paris, 1970), 50, n. 32, identifies him with John Pantechnes.

¹³His poems have been published by R. Romano: Nicola Callicles, *Carmi* (Naples, 1980).

¹⁴R. Romano in Pseudo-Luciano, *Timarione* (Naples, 1974), 25–31.

¹⁵PG, 126, col. 472C. See Mashev in *Fontes*, 69.

¹⁶Michel Italikos, *Lettres et discours*, ed. P. Gautier (Paris, 1972), 209. See Gautier's comment, 46–48.

¹⁷Michel Italikos, 204 f.

Byzantine—he was known to the emperor and was dubbed “the eye of the Senate.” The third letter is addressed to the *nosokomos* of the hospital of the Pantocrator monastery, whose name is, unfortunately, omitted from the lemma; the letter reveals nothing about this obscure director of a very famous hospital; what Tzetzes is discussing here is the time of Galen’s life.¹⁸

The last collection of letters I wish to consider is that of Michael Choniates, the archbishop of Athens at the time of the Fourth Crusade: among the 180 letters of his collection, one is addressed to the *archiatros* George Callistus and three to the *iatros* or *archiatros* Nicholas Caloduces.¹⁹ Callistus is described as a dexterous doctor of the body, as a representative of the “philanthropic vocation,” but Choniates puts the emphasis on his quality as a healer of souls, whose letters are remedies and antidotes for those who suffer. The letters to Caloduces are less rhetorical and more specific. Choniates thanks his correspondent—not without irony—for his care of the exiled archbishop, the old man who found refuge on a small island: in fact, Caloduces, in answering Choniates’ complaints, had sent him a book of Galen’s about diet, drink and exercise, but it turned out that the archbishop was unable to apply the medical advice to his situation. For instance, he says, there is no bathhouse on the island; the inhabitants would wash themselves in a small booth, the door of which could not be closed; some parts of the body were suffering from fire, while others froze as if in an open field. The people choked from the smoke of the hearth and peeped their heads outdoors. The local bishop, continues Choniates, would always cover his head lest he catch cold, and wash his hair outside the booth.²⁰ Even more relevant is another letter to Caloduces, in which Choniates formulates two moral rules for an honest doctor: first, you should not raise your fees too high (*me baryneis tous misthous tes therapeias*), and secondly, you should not be negligent and indifferent to the pain of your patients, especially those who combine grave illness with severe poverty (p. 264.9–14).

Certainly, not all the major epistolographic collections of the twelfth century contain letters ad-

dressed to medical doctors; thus, to my knowledge, neither Eustathius of Thessalonica nor Euthymius Malaces left letters of this kind. So far as other epistolographers are concerned, the very insignificant number of epistles they have left us allows us to dispense with them.

More complex is the question of the treatment of the medical profession in Byzantine hagiography. Saints’ Lives of the sixth and seventh centuries, as H. J. Magoulias has demonstrated,²¹ present a series of Late Roman physicians who are loaded with ignorance and avarice and who are unable to vie with healer-saints. Then the doctor disappears from hagiography (we might say with hagiography, since we do not possess hagiographic texts of the eighth century):²² when the genre was reintroduced, the writers practically ignored the medical profession, as it was the case of the Life of Philaretus the Merciful (*BHG*, 1511z–1512). The lives of the ninth-century saints are vague in their attitude towards medical doctors and lenient to their vices, so colorfully described by earlier hagiographers. Saints are presented as capable of miraculous healings, but their secular rivals are just left in the shadow, and their incapacity is rather silenced than not. Thus St. Evariste is praised as “the best physician and the guide of the greatest salvation,” and many sinners are said to have received cures and healing from him.²³ This passage doubtlessly refers to the spiritual healing of sins, but Evariste served as a doctor of bodily illnesses as well: he cured a woman by sending her a ring from the iron chain he wore to tame his flesh (van de Vorst, p. 314.28–36; also p. 315.1–7); another woman was healed by olive oil (p. 319.15–20); and the hagiographer registered many cases of cures on the tomb of the saint (p. 314.20–24, 323.10–11, 20–22). He teaches that the divine energy and grace is much

¹⁸ Ioannes Tzetzes, *Epistulae*, ed. P. A. M. Leone (Leipzig, 1972), nos. 48, 74, 81. On Galen’s tradition in Tzetzes, J. Scarborough, “The Galenic Question,” *SA*, 65 (1981), 20. On Byzantine hospitals, see T. Miller’s paper by that title, in this volume.

¹⁹ Michael Akominates, *Ta sozomena*, ed. S. Lampros, 2 (Athens, 1880), nos. 92, 107, 115, 131.

²⁰ On this letter, A. Berger, *Das Bad in der byzantinischen Zeit* (Munich, 1982), 71.

²¹ H. J. Magoulias, “The Lives of the Saints as Sources of Data for the History of Byzantine Medicine in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries,” *BZ*, 57 (1964), 128–33. To the *Vitae* used by Magoulias we can add now the pre-Metaphrastic Life of St. Sampson written, according to F. Halkin (“Saint Sampson le xénodoque de Constantinople [VI^e siècle],” *RSBN*, 14–16 [1977–79], 6), “sans doute” in the seventh or at the very beginning of the eighth centuries. To the best of my knowledge, Magoulias’ work has not been continued. Some remarks, however, are to be found in A. P. Rudakov, *Očerki vizantijskoj kul’tury po dannym grečeskoj agiografii* (Moscow, 1917), 96–98.

²² I. Ševčenko, “Hagiography of the Iconoclast Period,” in his *Ideology, Letters and Culture in the Byzantine World* (London, 1982), 1–3 (first published in *Iconoclasm* [Birmingham, 1977], 113 f.); less clearly in A. Papadakis, “Hagiography in Relation to Iconoclasm,” *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 14 (1969), 161–63.

²³ *BHG*, 2153: C. van de Vorst in *AnalBoll*, 41 (1923), 314.3–10. See also p. 315.11–12, 316.8–9.

more powerful than “human medical service” (p. 315.29–30); Evariste was able to cure the very diseases that doctors proclaimed incurable (p. 316.6–8, 19–23). However, there is no sharp animosity against doctors in this Life. Typically, for this Life, the hagiographer describes the illness of Evariste’s spiritual teacher, Nicholas of Studius (d. 868), without any hint of doctors’ assistance (p. 307.28–32)—he does not care about them.

The author of the Life of Theophano, the wife of the Emperor Leo VI (886–912), mentions his own and his brother’s illnesses: in both cases many of the best doctors were called. They tried various means and medications (Kurtz, *Zwei griechische Texte*, 19.34–35, 22.24–26), and even though their treatments turned out to be of no avail, the Life shows no flouting of them. Again, the Life of Nicholas of Studius recorded several cases of doctors’ helplessness before grave diseases (*BHG*, 1365: PG, 105, col. 913D, 916C, 924BC) which the saint was able to cure, but the hagiographer does not scoff at the poor *iatroi*. In the same indirect way the Life of Thomais of Lesbos expresses the author’s attitude towards the medical profession: a certain Eutychianus spent his whole life with the *asklepiadai* longing for his physical health, but it was a miracle that finally cured his paralysis (*BHG*, 2454; *ActaSS*, Novembris IV, 240CD).

Even more evocative is the Life of Peter of Argos, who acted, according to his biographer, with more experience than the *asklepiadai*, since he was a doctor of the soul and they doctors of the body.²⁴ The saint was the genuine doctor, indeed,²⁵ but his secular colleagues retained their medical functions, albeit on a reduced scale.

Nicetas Paphlago is a very controversial figure: we do not know whether this name covers one or two different writers, and to which of them, in this case, we should ascribe the authorship of the Life of the Patriarch Ignatius (847–58, 867–77), a notorious work that combines eulogy of the saint and the pasquinade on his enemy, the Patriarch Photius (858–67, 877–86). Nicetas describes several miraculous healings achieved by applying the holy relics of Ignatius. One of these cases refers to obstetrics, and in this connection Nicetas mentions *iatroi*: the delivery was troubled because of the baby’s

wrong position, so the doctors suggested using surgery and extracting the child piece by piece. The saint’s intervention, however, saved the baby (PG, 105, col. 564B). Again, the physicians are less effective than the piece of Ignatius’ cloak applied to the body of the suffering mother, but they are in no way villains. Nicetas even produced a Life of a medical doctor, St. Diomedes of Tarse, a healer of bodies and souls who tended the poor for free and visited Christian martyrs in prisons.²⁶

Some of the Saints’ Lives produced during this span of time ignored the medical topic completely (for instance, that of Irene of Chrysobalantus, *BHG*, 952), or briefly related the saint’s miraculous healings without mentioning doctors (among others, that of Euthymius the Younger, *BHG*, 655). But towards the end of the tenth century, the medical doctor of hagiographical texts ceases to be a nebulous name functioning somewhere at the background as a kind of foil to the saint: the saint met his match, who was doomed to be mocked, despised and rejected. Symeon Metaphrastes inserted in his reworked version of the Life of St. Sampson a long passage about a hospital in tenth-century Constantinople during the reign of Emperor Romanus II (959–63): Metaphrastes does not disparage the quality of medical service, but he complains that the hospital would run out of olive oil, and that its employees acted with such negligence that Sampson felt obliged to appear from the other world and punish the culprits (*BHG*, 1615: PG, 115, col. 300B–304B).

The Life of the tenth-century saint Luke the Stylite is especially abundant in tales that illustrate the preference for the saint over his secular rival. Cyrus, an official of the postal service (*dromos*), fell sick and suffered from acute pain, but was treated in vain by *iatron paides*.²⁷ A woman who had experienced intermittent fever and chills for three years wasted her fortune looking for medical help but did not recover (Delehay, p. 227.32–36). The eunuch Sergius was severely beaten at the Hippodrome of Constantinople and brought to the hospital (*nosokomeion*) of Eubulus for treatment. The people so versed in medical skill, says the hagiographer ironically, tried to cure him but without any result. His head was so swollen that one could not see his eyes or nose or ears. The poor victim had a

²⁴*BHG*, 1504: Ch. Papaoikonomou, *Ho poliouchos tou Argou Petros episkopos* (Athens, 1908), 64.28–29.

²⁵See, for instance, the Lives of St. Blasius (*BHG*, 273: *ActaSS*, Novembris IV, 667E) and St. Theocletus (*BHG*, 2420: ed. A. Sgouritzes in *Theologia*, 27 [1956], 592.15–16). On St. Evariste see note 23 above.

²⁶*BHG*, 551: L. G. Westerink, “Trois textes inédits sur s. Diomède de Nicée,” *AnalBoll*, 84 (1966), 170, par. 4.

²⁷*BHG*, 2239: H. Delehay, *Les saints stylites* (Brussels, 1923), 224.24–26.

vision, after which he asked for surgery. An *iatros* was summoned, but frightened by the terrible swelling he refused to operate until Sergius, in desperation, grasped the lancet (*siderion*)²⁸ and handed it over to the doctor (p. 219.29–37). If doctors appeared timid and awkward, St. Luke healed patients confidently and quickly: when the wife of “illustrious” John Iubes could not give birth to her baby for twenty days, Luke immediately helped her by giving her some holy bread and water (p. 229.13–21); after physicians had lost hope of curing Euthymius, a *clericus* of the New Church, Luke healed him (p. 222.30–37, 223.24); he sent holy bread to a certain Anna who dwelt near the Brazen Gate and was hopelessly ill, and she recovered right away (p. 229.33–230.5); in seven days he healed Phlorus Sarantopeches from leprosy with holy water and the “drastic remedy” (the hagiographer uses the words of the *Geoponica* 13:14.5) of his prayers (p. 225.24–226.3). The hagiographer cites many other examples of Luke’s medical successes, and calls him a universal doctor (p. 224.16–17), a distinguished doctor of the soul and body (p. 210.25–26), whose usual means of healing were prayers and holy bread and water. The hagiographer even makes the medical professionals acknowledge Luke’s triumph: a certain Stephen, “a man experienced in the medical art,” is said to have had a miraculous vision, in which he saw Luke’s soul ascending into heaven (p. 234.4–9).

In another *Vita*, that of St. Luke the Younger, or Steiriotes, we are transported to a different world: unlike the Stylite, his namesake was acting in a remote province, but the image of the doctor remains the same. A certain Nicholas is said to have had cholera. He turned to doctors for help; to some of them he paid a lot of gold, to some he promised to pay, if they could cure him of his grave illness. When his purse was empty, the doctors proclaimed his illness incurable, and so Nicholas lost both money and hope.²⁹ The wife of a nobleman from Thebes was ill (no definition of her ailment is given), and

her husband spent a great deal of money on doctors, ruined his fortune but got no help (Martini, 106.34–107.1). And again, in the cases in which secular physicians stood helpless, Luke the Younger performed miracles. A Boeotian woman suffered from an eye illness, and the doctors’ science and hands were of no avail. However, she was cured immediately at Luke’s tomb (Martini, 109.28–110.4). A certain John from the island of Terbenia had an unbearable pain in his legs; again, the illness was declared incurable, and again, he was immediately cured after having addressed his prayers to St. Luke (Martini, 112.36–113.13). The *clericus* Nicholas of Dauleia had dropsy; he visited doctors but they were evil and negligent, and only water from Luke’s tomb brought recovery (Martini, 117.1–15). An unnamed woman suffered from the illness that the *paides iatron* call *phagedaina* (cancerous sore) and no physician could help her; but in eight days she was healed at the tomb of Luke (Martini, 109.11–25). Many other healings are recorded in the *Vita* as performed by Luke both during and after his earthly existence, but even though his tomb is called “the free hospital (*amisthon iatreion*)” (Martini, 108.31), and though he appeared in a dream to the monk Gregory as an *iatros*, holding in his hands a *kauter*, a branding iron, to apply to Gregory’s sick stomach (Martini, 106.17–18), he modestly refused to be regarded as a physician and announced that there was one and only one doctor of the soul and body, God Himself (Martini, 101.15–17). He differs from his Constantinopolitan namesake also in that his favorite remedy was not holy bread and water but olive oil from a *photagogos* (“lamp”; Lampe, *s.v.*, gives only the meaning of window) (Martini, 109.20–25, 110.3–4 and others).

Olive oil from a *photagogos* is also the favorite remedy of another contemporary provincial saint, Paul of Latros,³⁰ who by these means healed even leprosy. He too used prayers defined as “the very drastic remedy” (Delehaye, p. 144.11). And like his colleagues he triumphed over “all the *iatroi*,” who were powerless before the strange and distressing disease of a certain Leo-Luke, an inhabitant of a site called Thebes near Miletus (p. 143.13–144.11).

The incompetence of physicians is strongly emphasized in the *Vita* of Nikon Metanoieite. A *strategos* of the Peloponnese named Gregory suddenly fell sick and, although he was carefully tended by local doctors, did not recover; even the bishop of

²⁸ See L. Bliquez, “Two Lists of Greek Surgical Instruments and the State of Surgery in Byzantine Times,” in this volume.

²⁹ *BHG*, 994. The *Vita* is published in PG, 111, col. 441–80, with important additions by E. Martini, “Supplementa ad acta S. Lucae junioris,” *AnalBoll*, 13 (1894). Here p. 118.3–119.3. Some unique evidence to the amount of doctors’ fee is preserved in the Life of Anthony the Younger (d. 865): the saint, at that time still a governor of the *theme* of Cibyrraeotes, disguised himself as a physician; a rich proprietor promised him a third of his estate if Anthony cured his wife of barrenness; the saint-governor-doctor required ten war stallions instead, and the agreement was concluded (*BHG*, 142: A. I. Papadopoulos-Kerameus in *Pravoslavnyj Palestinskij sbornik*, 57 [1907], 196.1–7).

³⁰ *BHG*, 1474: H. Delehaye in *AnalBoll*, 11 (1892), 173.2–6, 175.5–6.

Sparta tried to help him, the man who was, according to the hagiographer, at the very acme of medical science.³¹ Of course, Nikon's prayers cured Gregory at once. Medical skill was of no avail when a servant of Basil Apocaucus was found paralyzed in his bed (Lampros, p. 184.31–185.3) and in the case of a kind boy named Manuel who had illness of the testicles (p. 204.22–31). Neither the skill of *asklepiadai* nor the cures suggested by neighbors helped Vitalius of Aquileia (p. 215.16–28). No human help was successful, repeats the hagiographer in several other cases, but Nikon managed to heal, applying various remedies—anointment, olive oil, vision. A certain George, the son of Stephen, whose illness resisted all medical skill and science, was healed by Nikon's image (p. 204.13–20).

The *iatron paides* in the Life of Michael Maleinus turn out to be helpless in the face of the tremendous swelling that covered the ears, eyes, nose and mouth of Theophanes, Michael's disciple. They managed only to pry open the sick man's mouth and pour in some water; in desperation, they decided to cut open his face and neck, even though they guessed that Theophanes would not survive surgery. Of course, the saint's intervention healed the poor wretch.³²

We can observe the same change in Greek Saints' Lives from South Italy. The Life of Elias the Younger (d. 903) records sundry cases of healing performed by this saint.³³ Even the Saracens called him "doctor and savior sent by God" (1.298–99), although he was first and foremost "the doctor of souls" (1.610–11). But there is no contempt for the medical profession in this Life. Quite a different attitude is disclosed in the Lives written about a century later.

The Life of Elias Speleotis, who belonged to the next generation,³⁴ describes an inexperienced physician: in his boyhood, Elias fell from a high place and damaged his fingers; "an ignorant and inexperienced *iatros*" put on a splint (*narthex*), with the

result that in eight days Elias lost all his fingers (*ActaSS*, Septembris III, 852DE). Elias, on the other hand, functioned as a doctor with a great success: his skill consisted predominantly in extracting strange objects from the ill body. Thus, in a dream he approached a certain Christopher, cut his belly open, and extracted a goose egg (p. 883B). He drove a raven out of the mouth of the ill priest Epiphanius (p. 871B). Further details are related about the illness of the noble *archon* Gaudiosus, who was frustrated by visiting various temples of saints and made up his mind to sail to Palermo and consult the doctors there. On the boat, however, he had a vision: "the great doctor Elias" approached him, opened his mouth and extracted from his stomach a suckling piglet that he tossed into the sea (p. 871C–872D).

St. Sabas the Younger, another holy man from Byzantine South Italy, was very successful in curing all sorts of illnesses. His Life, written by Orestes of Jerusalem (d. 1005), comprises all the essential features of the hagiographical pattern: medical doctors who cannot help the sick,³⁵ money squandered on doctors without result (Cozza-Luzzi, p. 56.34–36, 61.8–11), and innumerable cures of the saint himself, who is called "the great doctor who requires no fee" (p. 56.39–40). More specific about medical rivals of the saint is the Life of Nilus of Rossano: he met a Jewish doctor, Domnulus by name,³⁶ who is characterized as a man of profound knowledge and medical experience. Domnulus proposed a medication to St. Nilus and boasted that after taking it Nilus would never know sickness, but the saint rejected the proposal. He wanted nothing to do with human drugs since, as he put it, his only physician was God Jesus Christ. Domnulus reappears once more in the Life—as an eyewitness and admirer of Nilus' victory over a high Byzantine official (*BHG*, 1370: *ActaSS*, Septembris VII, 290F–291A, 293C).

The opposition of saint and doctor is a typical phenomenon of Byzantine hagiography, and this opposition acquires a particular sharpness towards the end of the tenth century. Eventually it was softened, and we do not meet any trace of animosity against the physician in the richest eleventh-century hagiographical text, the Life of Lazarus Galesiotes, even though the hagiographer, Lazarus' disciple Gregory, records several cases of miraculous heal-

³¹ *BHG*, 1366: S. Lampros in Νέος Ἑλλ., 3 (1906), 173.7–11.

³² *BHG*, 1295: L. Petit in *ROChr*, 7 (1902), 566.23–567.14.

³³ *BHG*, 580: G. R. Taibbi, *Vita di sant'Elia il Giovane* (Palermo, 1962), 11.287–89, 582–85, 515–22, 806–9, 1127–33, 1311–30, 1620–23.

³⁴ Elias Speleotis was still young when Elias the Younger foretold his own death (*BHG*, 581: *ActaSS*, Septembris III, 861B). A certain Elias "spileot" was a scribe of a manuscript (Paris. 375) completed in 1021, but G. Schirò, "Testimonianza innografica dell'attività scriptoria di S. Elia lo Speleota," *ByzF*, 2 (1967), 316 f., denies the identity of the two namesakes. At any rate, the hagiographer seems to have lived some considerable span of time after Speleotis' death.

³⁵ *BHG*, 1611: I. Cozza-Luzzi, *Historia et laudes SS. Sabae et Macarii junioris* (Rome, 1893), 48.1–7, 52.10–13.

³⁶ On Domnulus, E. Lieber, "Asaf's *Book of Medicines*," in this volume.

ings. Moreover, Gregory did not care much about bodily recovery: according to him, Lazarus admonished those who were afflicted by ailments or tortured by demons not to lose their spirit but praise God and live in anticipation of future rewards (*BHG*, 979: *ActaSS*, Novembris III, 563B). The Life of Lazarus is “neutral.” Two rare cases in which the hagiographers tried to overcome traditional adversity against the medical profession deserve attention. The first case is relatively late and belongs to the area of South Italy. Cyprian of Calamizzi³⁷ was born into a doctor’s family and was taught medicine by his father; after his father’s death he inherited his wealth, glory and estates. Cyprian built “a holy house” on one of his paternal estates and would heal the sick—as the hagiographer emphasizes—without taking money.³⁸ This exceptional case could be explained as referring to the outlying areas of Byzantium; similarly, the Kievan *Paterik* appreciates rather positively the doctor Agapit (probably a Greek, Agapetus) who acted at the court of Vladimir Monomach (1113–25).³⁹ More complicated is the case of the Life of Athanasius of Athos.

I am not going to dwell here on the controversy over the priority of the versions of this *Vita*. Let us assume that both versions were produced almost simultaneously, in the beginning of the eleventh century, soon after Athanasius’ death (ca. 1001). One of these versions, that of the Lavra, contains many traditional elements of the medical image: Athanasius is called the wisest physician (*BHG*, 188: L. Petit in *AnalBoll*, 25 [1906], 60.16–17), his tomb, “the free hospital” (p. 82.15); the *apothecarius* Athanasius had dropsy and doctors had lost all hope of healing him, but the saint touched his belly and drove the illness away (p. 74.27–75.4). The monk Eustratius had blood in his urine; the saint recommended that he set off for Constantinople and address himself to first-class doctors who, however, gave him no relief and even did him substantial damage. At last Athanasius helped him by prescribing water drunk with roses (p. 80.7–81.6). Incidentally or not, there are no such invectives against doctors in the other version of the Life produced in Constantinople. Even more curious is the story

about the incurable disease of a monk, in which the author of the Constantinopolitan version stresses that the nature of this disease remained obscure both to “the wise doctor” (i.e., Athanasius) and to all other people,⁴⁰ whereas the phrase about Athanasius’ ignorance is lacking in the Lavra version (Petit, 68.29–31). Perhaps the clue to the reserve of the Constantinopolitan version is the existence of the Lavra hospital founded by Athanasius, in which he tended severe wounds (Petit, 53.24–33, Noret, par. 141.6–12). The hagiographer mentions a *nosokomos* who was one of the distinguished monks of the Lavra (Petit, 53.25–26, Noret, par. 154.1–5), and the Lavra doctor Timotheus is also mentioned (the words “of the Lavra” are lacking in the Lavra version), even though quite naturally he could not compete with “the great physician” Athanasius (Petit, 69.24–33, Noret, par. 204.13–30).

To a certain extent, Byzantine moralists of the eleventh century retained the hagiographers’ negative attitude towards the medical profession. Christopher of Mitylene left at least two epigrams dedicated to medical problems. One of them was written on hospitals and the patients who stay in them, but unfortunately the text is so corrupted that we cannot glean much information from this poem. The second epigram is addressed to an anonymous doctor, and it is typical of a transitional period, since it reflects both old and new attitudes. “You should not be proud of your profession,” says Christopher. “You rather ought to despise yourself, for you get your living from urine and excrement.”⁴¹ The doctors of the eleventh century were already proud of their activity, but they had not yet acquired the high esteem of those elements of society whose opinions were reflected by Christopher. Cecaumenus, in his *Admonitions*, written in the 1070s, dedicated a long paragraph to a vicious doctor.⁴² There he stresses—in full accord with hagiography—the doctor’s tendency to pump out the patient’s entire fortune. But Cecaumenus’ physician acts this way not out of lack of experience; rather, he is “very knowing” (*sphodra epistemon*), and deliberately revives the illness in search of profit. Symeon the Theologian follows the traditional pattern, and speaks of an inexperienced doctor who frequently misused both surgery and cauteriz-

³⁷ He lived in the second half of the twelfth century, according to D. Stiennon, “Saint Cyprien de Calamizzi († vers 1210–1215),” *REB*, 32 (1974), 247–52.

³⁸ *BHG*, 2089: G. Schirò in *BGrottaf*, 4 (1950), 88.1–29, 90.37–38.

³⁹ *Das Paterikon des Kiever Höhlenklosters*, ed. D. Tschizhevskij (Munich, 1964), 128–33, *slovo* 27: “On Holy and Saint Agapit, the Doctor who Performed Cures without Payment.”

⁴⁰ *BHG*, 187: J. Noret, *Vitae duae antiquae S. Athanasii Athonitae* (Turnhout, Leuven, Brepols, 1982), par. 197.1–7.

⁴¹ *Die Gedichte des Christophoros Mitylenaios*, ed. E. Kurtz (Leipzig, 1903), nos. 130 and 85.

⁴² *Sovety i rasskazy Kekavmena*, ed. G. G. Litavrin (Moscow, 1972), 224.12–226.6.

ing.⁴³ Accordingly, in Symeon's *Vita* by Nicetas Stethatus, we read a story about a certain Manasses, whom doctors thought incurable but who was healed by the oil from a lamp at Symeon's icon.⁴⁴ But quite unexpectedly, Symeon, a religious writer of the beginning of the eleventh century, draws a parallel between the spiritual doctor and the surgeon who performs an autopsy in order to understand the structure of the human body and apply the knowledge acquired to the healing of patients.⁴⁵

The twelfth-century authors paid special attention to the medical profession: one of them is the court poet of John II, Theodore Prodromus; the second, the anonymous author of the *Timarion*, has been identified either with Nicholas Callicles, Alexius I's physician (see above), or with Prodromus himself. Among other works, Prodromus wrote the Life of St. Meletius the Younger; another Life of the same saint came from the pen of the contemporary theologian Nicholas of Methone.⁴⁶ While Nicholas does not mention medical doctors in his version of the *Vita*, Prodromus does. He accepts the traditional pattern, and tells us of *asklepiadai* summoned to cure a young relative of Leo Nicerites: they acted, he says, like vultures and harvested a fortune (p. 60.26–27). Prodromus plainly contrasted “the unadorned medical science of the Savior” with the sophisticated but inefficient methods borrowed from Galen's books or Hippocrates' aphorisms (p. 53.31–33). Traditional though he was, Prodromus had, at least, the hearsay of Galen and Hippocrates. Moreover, he dared to acknowledge that a certain Theodosius of Athens was a man of marvellous medical skill (p. 61.11–12). Yet Prodromus took another step. He produced a new genre—a funny and tragicomic scene entitled *Executioner or Doctor* and describing his own visit to a dentist, a runt who immediately fetched a gigantic tool, fit to extract an elephant's tusk. But the poor doctor could not manage it and succeeded only in breaking off a part of the aching tooth.⁴⁷ The wan-

dering plot of the clumsy dentist finally wound up in one of the most famous short stories of Chekhov. In Prodromus' story the event is not only secularized and the medical profession mocked, but the author opposes good physicians to ignorant and boorish *asklepiadai*: at the end of the scene he addresses two praiseworthy doctors and gives their names—one of them is his close friend Michael Lizix, and another one, Nicholas Callicles, whom we have already mentioned (Podestà, 21.17–21). In the monody on the death of Stephen Scylitzes, Prodromus relates the arrival of his dying friend from Trebizond at Constantinople: the goal of this last journey was Stephen's desire to be treated “by the most experienced doctors.”⁴⁸

Even more paradoxical is the *Timarion*'s approach to medicine. Like the *Executioner or Doctor*, the anonymous dialogue is written as satire. The external plot is as follows: a certain Timarion, while visiting a fair in Thessalonica, was affected with a serious infirmity. According to the demons' judgment pronounced at his bed, he had lost all his bile, and since Asclepius and Hippocrates state that the human being cannot exist if deprived of one of his major elements, Timarion was condemned to be transferred to the nether world. There he met various people, including his own teacher Theodore of Smyrna, a famous rhetorician, who was also knowledgeable about ancient medicine. The image is thoroughly ironical, even though the lion's share of allusions escape the perception of the twentieth-century reader. In the first place, if the earthly Theodore had been sturdy, the man whom Timarion met in the nether world was tremendously skinny; the change is explained in terms of diet: Theodore has tamed his gluttonous stomach, lost unnecessary flesh, and by so doing healed himself of the gout he suffered in the days when he served the emperor. Dietary self-restraint is a mandatory element of every hagiographical legend, and accordingly, in the *Timarion*, Theodore is said to “cure the soul and the body” (ed. Romano, 71.611). But what was utterly serious in the *Vitae* acquires a nuance of play in the *Timarion*: Theodore displays only the parody of Christian temperance, and what this faster discusses with Timarion is a present from above of the one thing he is longing for, his favor-

⁴³K. Holl, *Enthusiasmus und Bussgewalt* (Leipzig, 1898), 117.9–10.

⁴⁴BHG, 1692: I. Hausherr, “Un grand mystique byzantin,” *OrChr*, 12 (1928), par. 144.4–20.

⁴⁵Syméon le Nouveau Théologien, *Traité théologiques et éthiques*, ed. J. Darrouzès, 2 (Paris, 1967), 138.269–140.278.

⁴⁶BHG, 1247–48: V. G. Vasil'evskij in *Pravoslavnyj Palestinskij sbornik*, VI, 2 (1886).

⁴⁷G. Podestà, “Le satire Lucianesche di Teodoro Prodromo,” *Aevum*, 21 (1947), 17 f. On an “ignorant *iatros*,” see also Prodromus' letter to the metropolitan of Trebizond (PG, 133, col. 1256A). The equation of the doctor and the executioner was a

topos of the Late Roman literature—see B. Baldwin, “Beyond the House Call,” in this volume.

⁴⁸L. Petit, “Monodie de Théodore Prodrome sur Etienne Skylitzes métropolitain de Trébizonde,” *IRAIK*, 8 (1902), 13.211–34.

ite food (p. 74.673). Secondly, Theodore is presented as a braggart, who promises—by his cleverness—to liberate Timarion, to release him from the nether world, and to win over the famous ancient gods and healers. But his criticism of Hippocrates and Erasistratus is philological rather than medical, limited to ridiculing their stylistic and grammatical shortcomings, whereas Galen is for Theodore no more than a man concealed in a remote corner of Hell and hastily filling gaps in his book *On Various Kinds of Fever*. The central scene of the dialogue, the trial of Timarion and the speech pronounced by Theodore on behalf of Timarion, are consummate parodies: Timarion's fate is entrusted to the council of doctors, who act as judges rather than physicians and whose chairman, Hippocrates, is clad in a funny Arab costume.

The relentless rejection of secular medicine so typical of the hagiographical literature, especially of the second half of the tenth century, was replaced in the twelfth century by satirical nicety, and it was hard to distinguish who was more the butt of ridicule, the awkward and verbose doctor or his garrulous victim. At the same time, sincere respect for the medical profession was emerging. George Tornices was, perhaps, the most eloquent defender of physicians: in his letter to Alexius Ducas Bryennius he argues against the image of the doctor-executioner (*demios*) that was reflected, as we have seen, in Prodromus satire. Tornices contrasts the two figures: he speaks of the cup of medication passed over by the human-loving palms of the physician that are opposed to the rash hands of the executioner. Again, the actions of executioners and malicious cooks are contrasted with those of doctors (Darrouzès, *Georges et Dèmètrius*, 164.5–7, 165.9–10). The topic was touched upon by another twelfth-century writer, Nicetas Choniates (*Historia*, 298.14), who overtly differentiated the doctor and the poisoner. Several times Tornices re-

turns to the subject of medicine in his panegyric of Anna Comnena: even though he retains the traditional contrast between the limitations of “the best *iatroi*” and God's almightiness (Darrouzès, p. 313.2–4), he asserts that “the hand of the *iatros*” cleans the wound and heals “with minimal pain” (p. 293.27–28) and marvels at the skill of the “wise among doctors” who use wonderful and fitting tools in operating on people and cutting open corpses (p. 225.13–14). And his lady-patroness Anna was also very attentive to doctors, whose activity she describes and whose names she mentions. We can come back to the letters I quoted at the beginning: again, the letters of the twelfth century are mostly full of respect towards doctors who were friends of epistolographers.

I would like to formulate a hypothesis by way of conclusion: it seems to me that we have indications—however slight they may appear—that after the seventh century the medical profession in Byzantium temporarily lost its social standing; in any case the society became lukewarm and negligent towards medical doctors, hagiography ignored them, and intellectuals did not consider them as their peers. The situation began to change, probably, at the end of the tenth century: hagiography of about *l'an mil* wages a sharp war against secular physicians and scolds greediness and incompetence of the medical doctor who dares to match the omnipotent healing power of the saint; in other words, the doctor had become too influential to be neglected. But the anti-doctoral attack was no success: by the twelfth century, the physician enters as equal the establishment of functionaries and literati (one of whom he, indeed, was); he becomes respected, although mocked time and again by a society that started to care for its health more than for its salvation.

Dumbarton Oaks



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Rus'-Byzantine Princely Marriages in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries

Author(s): ALEXANDER KAZHDAN

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Rus'-Byzantine Princely Marriages in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries

ALEXANDER KAZHDAN

There is a common opinion that, after the baptism of Prince Volodimer of Kiev, the Kievan state became a member of the Constantinopolitan commonwealth, closely connected with and even imitating Byzantine political and cultural patterns. The thesis is evidently correct insofar as the church relationship was concerned, and, since in the Middle Ages the church was the most vocal part of society, the concept of thorough Byzantinization was silently transferred on the secular dominion of the Kievan state as well. How well-founded, however, is this logical operation? To what extent did the Kievan village, or craftsmanship, or military organization, or political structure imitate those of Constantinople? The problem merits many monographs, and I have no claim to solve it in a brief paper. Touched upon here is a very limited question, that of princely marriages. My task is to determine whether the Rus'-Byzantine princely marriages of the eleventh and twelfth centuries occupied an exceptional place in the life of both states and—to put it differently—whether the Byzantine connections of the Rurikids were exceptionally close.

It is striking how insignificant a trace emigrés from Rus' to Byzantium in the eleventh and twelfth centuries left. Prince Oleg of Černihiv was captured by the Khazars in 1079 and handed over to Byzantium, where he lived several years in Constantinople and on the island of Rhodes. Under Manuel I, Princes Vasil'ko and Mstislav, exiled by Andrej Bogoljubskij, were rewarded in Byzantium: Vasil'ko received four "towns" and Mstislav the district of Otskalana; eventually, Vasil'ko's possessions were transferred to the "Tauroscythian *dynastes*" Vladislav, who moved to Byzantium with his family and retinue. Under Manuel I, Ivan Berladnyk settled in Thessalonike where he, probably, was poisoned in 1162. In about 1180 Jurij, the son of Andrej Bogoljubskij, arrived in Constantinople in search of support against his former wife Tamar of Georgia, who had banished him. Less known is a certain Theodore who calls himself "Rhos from a royal kin." He is mentioned in an epigram of the twelfth century.¹ John the Rhos left a

¹ S. Lampros, "Ho Markianos kodix 524," *Neos Hellenomnemon* 8 (1911): 153bis, no. 254.

lead seal of the eleventh or twelfth century;² he entered the Byzantine elite and was granted the title of *protovestēs*.

Even though statistical conclusions are impossible, it is obvious that emigrés from the Kievan state stood both in number and in their significance in the Byzantine establishment of this period far below Armenians, Normans, Bulgarians, or Turks.

The marriages of the Rurikids were studied in detail by N. de Baumgarten; the list he established includes twelve marriages from the mid-tenth century through 1200 (p. 69).³ Let us, first, examine the evidence he collected.

The first two women in this list are two wives of Volodimer. One of them is a legendary Greek woman, “épouse païenne [sic!] de St. Wladimir,” formerly the spouse of his brother Jaropolk. Another is an unquestionably historical person, the famous Anna, the porphyrogenite sister of Basil II.⁴ Skylitzes informs us clearly that Basil made Volodimer his brother-in-law (*kēdestēs*), by marrying his sister Anna to the Kievan prince; later on he mentions that Anna, the emperor’s sister, died in “Rosia” after her husband Volodimer.⁵ The evidence concerning the marriage of Anna was repeated, after Skylitzes, by Zonaras.⁶ An independent testimony of the marriage is to be found in Thietmar of Merseburg (8:72), who, however, calls Volodimer’s Greek wife Helena.

The Kievan Chronicle mentions Anna several times. In contradiction to Skylitzes, it reports, however, that Anna died in 1011.⁷ Baumgarten (p. 8, fn. 1) accepts this date without indicating the contradiction; he does not mention Greek sources on Anna’s death even in a monograph devoted to the last marriage of Volodimer. Baumgarten hypothesizes that after Anna’s demise Volodimer married the third daughter of Count Cuno of Oeningen, and from this union Dobronega-Maria, wife of Kazimierz I of Poland, was born.⁸ The hypothesis has no support in Thietmar, to whom Baumgarten refers. Thietmar speaks of the marriage of Volodimer’s son (probably Svjropolk) to a daughter of “our persecutor Bolesław” (the Polish king);

² V. Laurent, *La collection C. Orghian* (Paris, 1952), no. 69.

³ N. de Baumgarten, *Généalogies et mariages occidentaux des Rurikides russes du X^e au XIII^e siècle* (Rome, 1927).

⁴ About Anna see D. and A. Poppe, “Dziewosłęby o porfirogetkę Annę,” *Cultus et cognitio* (Warsaw, 1976): 451–68.

⁵ Ioannes Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. J. Thurn (Berlin and New York, 1973), pp. 336.89–90, 367.71–72.

⁶ Ioannes Zonaras, *Epitome historiarum* 3, ed. Th. Büttner-Wobst (Bonn, 1897), p. 553.1–2.

⁷ *PSRL*, 1:129, 2:114.

⁸ N. de Baumgarten, “Le dernier mariage de S. Vladimir,” *Orientalia christiana* 18, no. 2 (1930): 166f.

earlier, Thietmar (4:58) also speaks of Bolesław's third daughter as given to a "son of 'king' Volodimer."

D. Oljančyn rejects Baumgarten's hypothesis that "Volodimer the Great married, after Anna's death, another woman who gave him Dobronega-Maria."⁹ He retains the date of 1011, however, for Anna's death, and so does V. Pašuto,¹⁰ both ignoring Skylitzes. Is it so easy to disregard the Byzantine historian? The Kievan Chronicle places the evidence concerning Anna in a lacuna between 997 and 1014 that is filled with five notes on princely deaths and one note about transferring relics—can we be sure that these meager notes are original?

Whatever the date of Anna's decease, her marriage is well chronicled in various independent sources. Yet it was contracted before—not after—the conversion of Kievan Rus', and in no case can be considered the result of a close relationship established after the year 988. What do we know about princely marriages after the conversion?

The third person in Baumgarten's list is "the daughter of emperor Constantine [IX Monomachos] from his first marriage" who in 1046 became the spouse of Prince Vsevolod and then the mother of Volodimer Monomach (= Monomax).

There is no doubt that Vsevolod's wife was of Greek stock; Kievan sources call her a Greek empress (*carica*) (*PSRL*, 1:160); according to Metropolitan Nikephoros, her son Volodimer Monomach "mingles imperial (*carskie*) and princely blood."¹¹ In the beginning of Monomach's *Poučenie*—unfortunately, in a corrupted phrase—we read that Volodimer received his surname Monomach from his mother [and father?] (*PSRL*, 1:240). If we accept these statements as true, the natural conclusion is that Vsevolod's wife was a daughter of Constantine IX Monomachos. This conclusion was drawn already by later Rus' chroniclers, who without hesitation define her as a daughter of the Greek emperor Constantine Monomachos and even reveal her name, Anastasia.¹² However, not a single Greek source mentions the existence of Constantine IX's daughter, even though the story of his life and erotic adventures is well known, due, primarily, to Michael

⁹ D. Oljančyn, "Zur Regierung des Grossfürsten Izjaslav-Demeter von Kiev," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 8 (1960): 398.

¹⁰ V. Pašuto, *Vnešnjaja politika Drevnej Rusi* (Moscow, 1968), p. 122.

¹¹ A. Dölker, *Der Fastenbrief des Metropoliten Nikifor an den Fürsten Vladimir Monomach* (Tübingen, 1985), p. 24.

¹² V. G. Brjusova, "K voprosu o proisxoždenii Vladimira Monomaxa," *Vizantijskij vremennik* (hereafter *VizVrem*) 28 (1968): 127–35. N. Šljakov, "O poučanii Vladimira Monomaxa," *Žurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosvěščeniia* 329 (1900): 122, fn. 2, without any reference, identified Volodimer's mother as Anna, Constantine IX's daughter.

Psellos. She definitely was not born to him by the empress Zoe, who had no children. We may hypothesize that Vsevolod's wife was born by Constantine's previous spouse or by his mistress Skleraina, who herself was identified by W. Seibt as *protospatharissa* Maria, the daughter of Skleros mentioned in the Peira.¹³ The difficulty is that in either case Vsevolod's wife would not be a *carica*.

V. L. Janin and G. G. Litavrin, supported by A. Soloviev, drew attention to a Greek seal of a certain *archontissa* Maria, titled in the legend "MO.ACHE," which these scholars interpreted as "Monomache."¹⁴ They also believed that they had discovered on this seal the name of Vsevolod's spouse in that the seal bears the effigy of the apostle Andrew, after whom Vsevolod took his Christian name. The reading *Monomache*, however, is far from certain; it is much simpler to read instead *monache*, i.e. nun.¹⁵ She could have been a nun at a convent of St. Andrew, not a spouse of Andrij-Vsevolod. And finally, Maria is not dubbed *archontissa* "of Rosia" but simply "the very noble *archontissa*." In this case, the seal loses its relation to the enigmatic wife of Vsevolod.

Thus we do not know who Vsevolod's spouse was. Only in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Russian texts does she appear as Constantine IX's daughter. It would be more prudent to assume that Vsevolod was married to a lady from the house of the Monomachoi, a relative of Constantine IX.

The fourth Greek spouse in Baumgarten's list is Theophano Mouzalonissa, who allegedly married Oleg of Černihiv before 1083. Testimony to this marriage is the seal of Theophano Mouzalonissa with the name *archontissa Rossias*, which was published by G. Schlumberger.¹⁶ Xr. Loparov discovered in a late source—a manuscript of the eighteenth century, the Synodikon of Ljubeč—a note that the name of the wife of the great [sic!] prince Mixail-Oleg of Černihiv was Feofanija.¹⁷ This entry is suspicious in that both the title of the great prince and the name of Feofanija are missing in the previous edition of the Synodikon of Ljubeč, which was probably based on other manuscripts; moreover, according to the Synodikon of Kiev, Feofanija was the spouse of another Mixail of Černihiv who

¹³ W. Seibt, *Die Skleroi* (Vienna, 1976), pp. 71–76.

¹⁴ V. L. Janin and G. G. Litavrin, "Novye materialy o proisxoždenii Volodimira Monomaxa," in *Istoriko-arxeologičeskij sbornik* (Moscow, 1962), pp. 204–221; A. Soloviev, "Marie, fille de Constantin IX Monomaque," *Byzantion* 33 (1963): 241–48.

¹⁵ See A. Poppe, "La dernière expédition russe contre Constantinople," *Byzantinoslavica* (hereafter *BSI*) 32 (1971): 267, fn. 181.

¹⁶ G. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie byzantine* (Paris, 1984), pp. 432f., 683.

¹⁷ Xr. Loparov, "Vizantijskaja pečat' russkoj knjagini," *VizVrem* 1 (1894): 159–166; V. Zotov, *O černigovskix knjaz'jax po Ljubeckomu sinodiku* (St. Petersburg, 1892), pp. 24–29.

died in 1246. V. Zotov thought that Feofanija was Oleg's wife, but he called her a "Cuman princess." Ignoring all these confusions and relying on a sheer coincidence of names, Loparev—notorious for his unfounded hypotheses—came to the conclusion that Oleg, during his stay in Constantinople and Rhodes, took in marriage a noble lady of the house of the Mouzalon.

Unfortunately, the only piece of evidence concerning Oleg's stay on Rhodes comes from a pilgrim from Rus', Daniil, who visited Rhodes at the beginning of the twelfth century and was told by local inhabitants there that Oleg spent two years on the island. Even though separated from Oleg by less than one generation, they did not mention his wedding, and we do not know whether the Feofanija in the Synodikon of Ljubeč was Greek or not. In 1963 I was ready to accept Loparev's hypothesis;¹⁸ I am not be so definite now. We do indeed know several seals calling certain Rurikids archons of "Rosia," but we know as well that "Rosia" was also a settlement near Matracha and that the term archon could designate a Byzantine governor. The preservation of the Greek family name makes it at least suspect that Theophano was a Kievan princess. As for the date of the seal, I leave it to professionals to determine; the family of the Mouzalon was flourishing in Byzantium in the thirteenth rather than the eleventh century. Be that as it may, we are not on solid ground with this case of princely marriage.

The fifth item in Baumgarten's list is Janka of Kiev who allegedly was the fiancée of Constantine Doukas in 1074. The source of this statement, even though he is not indicated by Baumgarten,¹⁹ was no less a scholar than V. Vasil'evskij,²⁰ who identified Vsevolod, prince of Kiev (d. 1093), as the addressee of two letters dispatched by Michael VII to an unnamed ruler concerning the betrothal of Michael's son Constantine. Vasil'evskij, however, was wrong. The text of the document devoted to the betrothal of Constantine²¹ was published by P. Bezobrazov.²² It is explicitly addressed to Robert (Guiscard) and not to Prince Vsevolod; the emperor's son (not brother, 'frère', as he is called by F. Chalandon),²³ Constantine, was engaged to "your daughter" (p. 141.15–16). The political situation that

¹⁸ A. Kazhdan, "Vizantijskij podatnoj sborščik na beregax Kimmerijskogo Bospora v konce XII v.," in *Problemy obščestvenno-političeskoj istorii Rossii* (Moscow, 1963), p. 94f.

¹⁹ See also Baumgarten, *Généalogie*, p. 24, fn. 2, where he refers directly to chronicles and letters.

²⁰ V. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy*, vol. 2, pt. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1909), p. 36f.

²¹ Now in Michael Psellos, *Scripta minora*, vol. 1 (Milan, 1936), pp. 329–24.

²² P. Bezobrazov, "Xrisovul imperatora Mixaila VII Duki," *VizVrem* 6 (1899): 140–43.

²³ F. Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1922), p. 260.

caused this agreement has been studied by various scholars,²⁴ and here there is no need to return to this question. The engagement of Janka should be eliminated from Baumgarten's list.

Next in Baumgarten is "Barbe" Komnene, who allegedly married Svjatopolk of Kiev ca. 1103. The late V. Pašuto followed Baumgarten.²⁵ X. Loparev is even more audacious: he makes Barbara a daughter of Emperor Alexios I.²⁶ We have a full list of Alexios I's children,²⁷ and there was no Barbara among them. Baumgarten refers in this connection (p. 11, fn. 3) to the chronicle of Ortlieb (*MGH SS* 10, p. 90f.) who conveys only that an unnamed Greek nobleman married his daughter to the "king of the Rutheni." The story of the arrival in Kiev of Barbara, Alexios I's daughter, is contained only in the seventeenth-century tale of the relics of the great martyr Barbara.²⁸

In the *Pověst' vremennyx lět* (*PSRL* 1: 280; 2: 256) it is related that in 1104 a daughter of Volodar', prince of Peremyšl', married "carevič Oleksinič"; literally, "the son of Emperor Alexios." Alexios I had several sons: John (born on 13 September 1087), the future emperor John II; *sebastokrator* Andronikos (born on 18 September 1091; D. Papachryssanthou suggested 1098);²⁹ *caesar*, later *sebastokrator*, Isaac (born in January 1093); and Manuel (born in February 1097). The last is known only from the list of Alexios's children;³⁰ even his sister Anna Komnene does not mention him, and probably he died very young.

John II, who married a Hungarian princess, Irene-Piriska, is out of the question. Baumgarten identified the unnamed *carevič* as *sebastokrator* Isaac;³¹ Loparev considers him to be either Andronikos or Isaac;³² K. Barzos prefers Andronikos to Isaac, who in 1104 was only eleven.³³

The typikon of the nunnery of the Theotokos "Full of Grace" (Kecharitomene) founded by Irene Doukaine, Alexios I's widow, prescribes memorial rites for her two daughters-in-law (*nymphai*)—*sebastokratorissa*

²⁴ See, e.g., H. Bibicou, "Une page d'histoire diplomatique de Byzance au XI^e siècle," *Byzantion* 29/30 (1960): 43–75.

²⁵ Pašuto, *Vnešnjaia politika*, p. 87.

²⁶ X. Loparev, "Brak Mstislavny," *VizVrem* 9 (1902): 419, no. 9.

²⁷ P. Schreiner, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, vol. 1 (Vienna, 1975), p. 55f.

²⁸ See Bishop Evgenij in *Kirill Turovskij, Tvorenija* (Kiev, 1880), p. VIII, n. 1.

²⁹ D. Papachryssanthou, "La date de la mort du sébastokrator Isaak Comnène," *Revue des études byzantines* (hereafter *REB*) 21 (1963): 251.

³⁰ A. Kazhdan, "Die Liste der Kinder des Kaiser Alexios I. in einer Moskauer Handschrift," in *Beiträge zur alten Geschichte und deren Nachleben*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1970), pp. 233–37.

³¹ See also Pašuto, *Vnešnjaia politika*, p. 85.

³² Loparev, "Brak Mstislavny," p. 419, no. 6.

³³ K. Barzos, *He genealogia ton Komnenon*, vol. 1 (Thessalonike, 1984), p. 234, fn. 30.

Irene and *kaisarissa* (the wife of *caesar*) Irene.³⁴ We have no additional information on these women; we know only that the spouse of Andronikos died before her husband.³⁵ The typikon of the Kecharitomene does not mention the change of names of either Irene, even though a Maria-Xene and a Theodora-Irene are mentioned in other places of the typikon.³⁶ The lack of a second name, however, does not prove or disprove anything: Volodar's daughter could have had the baptismal name Irene, or the typikon could have omitted her change of name. At any rate, there is no support here for the version in the Kievan Chronicle.

Loparev also hypothesizes that a daughter of Vseslav (of Polock) married another son of Alexios I in 1106.³⁷ I do not know the source of his information. Baumgarten (p. 32, table 8) lists seven sons of Vseslav but not a single daughter; and Pašuto, who speaks *en passant* of Vseslav,³⁸ says nothing about a daughter of his.

The eighth marriage in Baumgarten's list is that of Leo Diogenes and "Princess Marina of Kiev." The only evidence of this marriage is the entry of the Laurentian Chronicle under 1116 mentioning that Leon Diogenovič, "zjat'" of Volodimer Monomax, was killed during his expedition against Alexios I. Vasil'evskij³⁹ concluded that Leo married not Volodimer's daughter Maria (Marina in Baumgarten, p. 22, table 5, no. 12), but Volodimer's sister—whoever she was: the word *zjat'*, like the Greek *gam-bros*, designated both son-in-law and brother-in-law. The problem is, however, who was this Leon Diogenovič?

The emperor Romanos IV Diogenes had several sons. One of them, Constantine, was a courageous warrior but had an unpraiseworthy character, if we believe Bryennios.⁴⁰ He married Theodora, a daughter of *kouropalates* John Komnenos (p. 85.22–23) and a sister of the future emperor Alexios I. Bryennios says (p. 207.5–9) that he perished in 1074/5 in a battle against the Turks near Antioch.

Strangely enough, Anna Komnene, who was Theodora's niece, conveys that it was Leo Diogenes who was killed by an arrow near Antioch.⁴¹ Anna also calls his widow, Theodora, Alexios's sister (p. 191.9). Thus

³⁴ P. Gautier, "Le typikon de la Théotokos Kécharitôménè," *REB* 43 (1985): 123.1837–41.

³⁵ P. Gautier, "Le obituaire du typikon du Pantokrator," *REB* 27 (1969): 249f.

³⁶ Gautier, "Le typikon," p. 125.1853–54 and 1863–65.

³⁷ Loparev, "Brak Mstislavny," p. 419, no. 8.

³⁸ Pašuto, *Vnešnjaja politika*, p. 110. In the index (p. 438) our Vseslav, son of Brjačeslav, is obviously confused with another Vseslav, son of Vasil'ko, who lived a century later.

³⁹ Vasil'evskij, *Trudy*, 2, 1: 47f.

⁴⁰ Nicéphore Bryennios, *Histoire*, ed. P. Gautier (Brussels, 1975), p. 87.2–3.

⁴¹ Anne Comnène, *Alexiade*, ed. B. Leib (Paris 1937–45), 2:190.22–24.

Constantine in Bryennios and Leo in Anna Komnene is one and the same person. It is generally accepted⁴² that Anna committed an error and that the Diogenes who died in 1074/5 was Constantine, not Leo.

Anna speaks of Leo Diogenes in a different context, too. She relates that when Romanos IV died, he left behind two sons—Leo and Nikephoros (p. 172.18–19). She does not mention Constantine, probably because he was killed soon after Romanos's death in the summer of 1072. Anna says that Alexios I cared about the two brothers, and that Leo, a man of noble temper, was satisfied with his fate, whereas Nikephoros, wrathful and passionate, kept plotting against the emperor (p. 173.22–28). Finally, on 29 June 1093 or 1094, Nikephoros was blinded (p. 183.28). Anna notes that she has no clear knowledge of these events (p. 184.5–6). She knows, however, that Nikephoros left the capital for his estate and devoted his time to scholarship. Soon thereafter she tells a story about a man of ignoble origin who assumed the name of Leo (probably Constantine) Diogenes and began claiming the throne (p. 190.10–15). This man arrived at Constantinople (the *polis*) from the East (*ex anatoles*) and would visit the mansions of the city pretending that he had not been killed at Antioch (p. 190.19–24).

The impostor, says Anna, did not stop talking nonsense “in the streets and lanes,” and his behavior urged Theodora, the widow of Diogenes, to interfere. Anna does not reveal how Theodora acted, but probably she announced that the pretender was not her husband. Anyhow, Alexios arrested the man and banished him to Cherson (p. 191.6–16). Diogenes (or pseudo-Diogenes) escaped from Cherson, joined the Cumans and together with them invaded Byzantine territory. Anna again stresses that the man was an impostor and makes Nikephoros Bryennios disclaim the alleged relationship (p. 196.28–197.3). Finally, Diogenes was lured into a trap, captured and blinded (p. 201.22). The story is precisely rendered in *Pověst' vremennyx lét* under 1095: the Polovci (Cumans) together with the son of Diogenes attacked the Greek land, but the emperor took “Devgenič” captive and blinded him (*PSRL*, 1:226–27; 2:217). The story has been analyzed by Vasil'evskij and by Mathieu and does not need further examination.

The usurper of 1095 had no connection with Kiev, but Leo Diogenes of 1116, of whom Greek sources say nothing, evidently had. He cannot be identified with Leo, the son of Romanos IV, who according to Anna was a loyal subject of her father; he was not the impostor of 1095 who was blinded by Alexios and, probably, perished in a Byzantine prison or monastery; we do not know his destiny. In Kievan chronicles he is

⁴² M. Mathieu, “Les faux Diogènes,” *Byzantion* 22 (1952/53): 134f.

characterized as the son-in-law (or brother-in-law) of Monomax, not the son of the emperor (“caesar”). Quite a different formula was used by Orderic Vitalis, who says that Bohemund, in 1105–1107, supported a *filius Diogenis Augusti*—according to Mathieu, an impostor.⁴³

In sum, we can say that the *gambros* of Monomax was certainly not the real son of a Byzantine emperor (not even of a deposed one); he may have been a relative of the house or an impostor.⁴⁴

The ninth in Baumgarten’s list is the union of Andronikos Komnenos and Irene-Dobrodeja concluded in 1122. Baumgarten (p. 25, fn. 26) refers to two articles: one is the above-quoted work by Loparev, the other is by S. Papadimitriu.⁴⁵ Neither of these scholars mentions the name Andronikos. According to them, it was Alexios who was the oldest son and co-emperor of John II. Pašuto, incidentally, also referring to the article by Papadimitriu, calls the husband of Irene-Dobrodeja Andronikos.⁴⁶

Once again, information concerning this marriage comes to us only from the Kievan chronicles. They convey that a daughter of Prince Mstislav (a son of Volodimer Monomax) was married in 1122 to a *car* or *carevič*.⁴⁷ The rendering of the Hypatian Chronicle (*PSRL*, 2: 286), *car*-emperor, even though accepted by Tatiščev, is obviously erroneous, for John II had another spouse, the Hungarian princess Irene-Piriska. If we take the evidence of late chroniclers concerning *carevič* at face value, we must conclude that the daughter of Mstislav married one of John II’s sons. We know quite a bit about the wife of Andronikos.⁴⁸ She was very active both politically and as the patroness of a literary circle; in the numerous poems dedicated to her there is not a single hint of her northern origin.

Both Loparev and Papadimitriu identified the husband of Mstislavna as John II’s oldest son, Alexios.⁴⁹ Papadimitriu has demonstrated that Loparev, by a series of fantastic guesses, created a false biography of Mstislavna, and invented for her the name of Zoe. There is no need to return to his scrutiny of Loparev’s mistakes, particularly since G. Litavrin

⁴³ Mathieu, “Les faux Diogènes,” p. 137f.

⁴⁴ See also I. U. Budovnic, “Vladimir Monomax i ego voennaja doktrina,” *Istoričeskie zapiski* 22 (1947): 96–98.

⁴⁵ S. Papadimitriu, “Brak ruskoj knjažny Mstislavny Dobrodei s grečeskim carevičem,” *VizVrem* 11 (1904): 73–98.

⁴⁶ Pašuto, *Vnešnjaja politika*, p. 187.

⁴⁷ Papadimitriu, “Brak ruskoj knjažny,” p. 73.

⁴⁸ Besides Barzos, *He genealogia*, 1: 362–79, see O. Lampsides, “Zur Sebastokratorissa Eirene,” *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* (hereafter *JÖB*) 34 (1984): 91–105; E. Jeffreys, “The Sebastokratorissa Eirene as Literary Patroness,” *JÖB* 32 (1982): 63–71.

⁴⁹ About Alexios see Barzos, *He genealogia*, 1: 339–348; G. Ostrogorsky, “Autokrator Ioannes II und Basileus Alexios,” *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 10 (1938): 172f.

also rejected Loparev's constructions.⁵⁰ The question is, however, whether Mstislavna really became the spouse of Alexios. Barzos, who accepts Loparev's conclusions (probably without knowledge of Papadimitriu's article), draws attention to several Greek texts referring to the wife of Alexios.⁵¹ First, she was mentioned in the typikon of the Pantokrator; that means that she died before 1136. The typikon, however, gives no name for her. A scholion to the histories of John Tzetzes defines Kata-Katae, the daughter of the Georgian king Demetrios, as the spouse of Alexios. Barzos solves this difficulty by assuming that Kata was the second wife of Alexios. In some unpublished notes on the manuscripts from Sinai, he discovered two names of Alexios' spouses—Irene and Eudokia (not Kata!); the name Irene also appears in an anonymous epigram.

All these data, precious though they are, do not shed any light on the Kievan past of the princess. It is very risky to conclude anything on the basis of the unpublished notes collected by Pachomios of Sinai in 1928. The only sure thing is Alexios's marriage to a Georgian princess. It could be she who was renamed Irene and died before 1136, or it could be another woman. Mstislavna was married to a *carevič*, but who was this *carevič*? In far-away Kiev, the title could be generously applied to any member of the Komnenian clan. The Greek sources do not mention a Kievan princess becoming Alexios's wife. Of course, this is an *argumentum ex silentio*. But negation owing to silence is not worse than an assumption despite silence.

The third son of John II, Issac, born ca. 1113,⁵² is, probably out of the question, for he was very young in 1122. As far as his marriages are concerned, his first wife was Theodora and the second one was Irene Diplosynadene.⁵³

The tenth marriage in Baumgarten's list is that of Jurij Dolgorukij to an unnamed Greek woman, or—as he puts it elsewhere—“vraisemblablement Byzantine d'origine” (p. 22, fn. 16). The only source Baumgarten could refer to was N. M. Karamzin, who wrote: “It is probable that the second spouse of Jurij (George) was of Greek extraction since she left for Constantinople.”⁵⁴ The argumentation is very shaky, especially in the context of the Hypatian Chronicle's entry under 1162 relating, as noted above, that the

⁵⁰ G. G. Litavrin, “Vizantijskij medicinskij traktat XI–XIV vv.,” *VizVrem* 31 (1971): 249–51.

⁵¹ Barzos, *He genealogia*, 1: 343, fn. 25.

⁵² Barzos, *He genealogia*, 1: 391.

⁵³ Barzos, *He genealogia*, 1: 396, fn. 28.

⁵⁴ N. M. Karamzin, *Istorija gosudarstva Rossijskogo*, 1 (St. Petersburg 1842), note to part 2, p. 161, fn. 405.

sons of Jurij (Mstislav and Vasil'ko) emigrated to Constantinople together with their mother and Vsevolod, their younger brother. The emigration was, as Vasil'evskij has already indicated,⁵⁵ one element of an alliance built by Manuel I against Hungary. We have no data concerning Jurij's marriage to a Greek princess. Loparev did not include this groundless evidence in his list of marriages.

The eleventh marriage is that of Euphemia, daughter of Prince Glěb of Bilhorod and Černihiv, who in 1194 allegedly married a certain Angelos. Pašuto identifies her fiancé as, "probably," Alexios IV.⁵⁶ Alexios would have been the only Byzantine prince in 1194, other than the newborn Manuel.⁵⁷ Nonetheless, Alexios is not a good candidate; his adventures are well known, as described by Niketas Choniates, and there is no word about his marriage. Again, the generous term in the Kievan Chronicle, *carevič* (PSRL 2:680) deceived Pašuto. M. Levčenko, evidently more cautious, wrote that "in 1193 Svjatoslav of Kiev's granddaughter married a member of this dynasty."⁵⁸

But did she marry? The chronicle says only that Svjatoslav arrived in Kiev and that there he received a message from matchmakers saying they were coming to take Euphemia Glěbovna, his granddaughter, "for the carevič." We do not know the result of this embassy.

The last in Baumgarten's list is Anna who ca. 1200 married Roman, prince of Volhynia and Halyč. She was, according to Baumgarten, a relative of Emperor Isaac II (p. 23, table 5, no. 47) or Alexios III (p. 47, table 11, no. 1); since they were brothers, there is no contradiction between the statements. The problem is that these statements are accompanied only by questionmarks, not references, and I do not know what source, if any, Baumgarten had. Loparev did not include Anna in his list, and Pašuto, who made a special study of Anna's activity,⁵⁹ mentions only her Polish and Hungarian relations.⁶⁰ Anna's Greek origin and her relation with the dynasty of the Angeloi is probably only one of Baumgarten's conjectures.

Thus the list of Baumgarten should be considerably contracted. Janka, Barbara, Jurij's anonymous wife, and Anna of Halyč should be eliminated completely; Anastasia-Maria was not Constantine IX's daughter; Theophano Mouzalonissa, even if she married a Kievan prince, was not an

⁵⁵ Vasil'evskij, *Trudy*, vol. 4 (Leningrad, 1930), p. 45.

⁵⁶ Pašuto, *Vnešnjaja politika*, p. 201. See also F. Cognasso, "Un imperatore bizantino della decadenza," *Bessarione* 19 (1915): 278f.

⁵⁷ Ch. Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West* (Cambridge, Mass, 1968), p. 96f.

⁵⁸ M. V. Levčenko, *Očerki po istorii rusko-vizantijskix otnošenij* (Moscow, 1956), p. 497.

⁵⁹ V. Pašuto, *Očerki po istorii Galicko-Volynskoj Rusi* (Moscow, 1950), pp. 194–200.

⁶⁰ Pašuto, *Vnešnjaja politika*, p. 347, fn. 1.

imperial relative; Leo Diogenes was an impostor, and Euphemia did not marry Alexios IV.

In Baumgarten's list there are at least three cases when the chronicles dub the fiancé of a Kievan princess *carevič*. In our search for these imperial fiancés we have not found a single Byzantine "prince" who could suitably fit this definition. We can suggest, then, that the term *carevič* was used by Kievan chroniclers in a vaguer sense than "the son of an emperor." We can also suggest that the *carica*, Vsevolod's spouse, was not actually a princess.

But it was not only the Kievan wives of *careviči* who left no trace in the Greek sources. What is especially astonishing is that none of the Kievan marriages, after that of Anna-Volodimer, is reported or even mentioned in a single Greek text. The whole of Baumgarten's information is furnished, short of his imagination, by Kievan narrative sources.

The question to ask now is whether this "silence about foreign spouses" was a general or particular phenomenon. Were the Byzantines of the eleventh and twelfth centuries inclined to skip the foreign origin of their princely mates, or did they disregard their Kievan connubial connections?

It would be very helpful to have a "Byzantine Baumgarten" even if it were permeated with errors and fantasies. We have nothing of this kind. But, for our purpose of comparison, we fortunately do not need a comprehensive list of foreign marriages—even casual examples will do.

Surely the wives of emperors attracted the attention of writers. The Georgian princess Maria was called by Byzantine contemporaries the "Alanian" and eventually by Tzetzes the "Abasgissa."⁶¹ Even though the ethnic definition is not precise (the Byzantines confused Alans, Abasges and Iberoi), Maria's Caucasian origin is stressed in various sources.

Irene, Manuel I's first wife (Bertha von Sulzbach), was, according to Niketas Choniates, a noble woman from the "Alamanoi"; Kinnamos calls her a descendant of kings, and in the title of the funeral speech written by Basil of Oxrid she is named "the lady from the Alamanoi." Prodromos also calls her "from the Alamanoi."⁶² The foreign origin of Manuel's second wife has been described at length: Choniates calls her a daughter of

⁶¹ About Maria, see I. M. Nodia, "Gruzinskie materialy o vizantijskoj imperatrice Marfe-Marii," in *Vizantinovedčeskie etjudy* (Tbilisi, 1978), pp. 146–55. Cf. Nodia's article (with a false transliteration of her name) in *Actes du XV^e Congrès international d'études byzantines*, vol. 4 (Athens, 1980), pp. 138–43; M. Mullet, "The 'Disgrace' of the Ex-basilissa Maria," *BSI* 45 (1984): 202–211.

⁶² Niketas Choniates, *Historia* (hereafter Nik. Chon.), ed. J. A. van Dieten (Berlin and New York, 1975), p. 53.58; Ioannes Cinnamus, *Epitome rerum*, ed. A. Meineke (Bonn, 1836), p. 36.2–3.

“Petebinos” (Raimond of Poitiers), satrap of Antioch; twelfth-century poets know her as an Italian or the lady of the land of Antioch; and Constantine Manasses devoted a poem to the embassy dispatched to Palestine for “the scion of the Charites produced by the golden city of Antioch.”⁶³ About Alexios II, Choniates explicitly says that his wife was the daughter of “the ruler of the Franks,” and the title of the discourse of Eustathios of Thessalonike on their wedding reads: “On the arrival to the capital of the imperial bride from Frankia.”⁶⁴

We have some information about foreign marriages of Byzantine aristocrats as well: thus Bryennios says explicitly that Isaac Komnenos married Ekatherina, “the oldest daughter of the emperor of the Bulgarians, Samuel.”⁶⁵ Nikephoros Basilakes speaks at length about the origin of Alexios I’s nephew Adrianos Komnenos—his mother was of Alanian (Georgian) origin.⁶⁶ Manuel’s daughter Maria married, according to Choniates, a son of the marquis of Monferrat.⁶⁷ In Kallikles’s funeral epigram on Rogerios, the poet relates that the deceased originated from the Frankish land and adds that Emperor Alexios I gave him everything: the sea of gold, glory, the title of *sebastos* and marriage into a noble family.⁶⁸

We can stop here, although far from exhausting the list of Byzantine marriages to foreigners: the Byzantines did not shun mention of their princely connubial connections with foreigners. To make this point clearer, let us take a single country, Hungary, a convenient case in point. Hungary was not a great power, such as France or Germany; it was not as close to Constantinople as Italy, Bulgaria, or Armenia, formerly parts of the empire; it was, finally, not an Orthodox country, although, as D. Obolensky formulates it, “at St. Stephen’s court the traditions of Eastern and Western Christianity, and the influences of the Byzantine and the German empires, met and were fairly evenly balanced.”⁶⁹ In other words, the situation of Hungary within the Byzantine commonwealth was comparable with that of the Kievan state, and we could expect that the Byzantine influence, “evenly

⁶³ Nik. Chon., p. 115.55–56; Lampros, “Ho Markianos kodix,” p. 126, no. 109.15; 145, no. 221.13; K. Horna, “Das Hodoiporikon des Konstantin Manasses,” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (hereafter *BZ*) 13 (1904): 343.51–82.

⁶⁴ Nik. Chon., p. 275.13–14; *Fontes rerum byzantinorum*, ed. V. Regel, N. Novosadskij (reprint, Leipzig, 1982), 1:80.13–14.

⁶⁵ Bryennios, *Histoire*, p. 77.11–12.

⁶⁶ Niceforo Basilace, *Encomio di Adriano Comneno*, ed. A. Garzya (Naples, 1965), p. 34.196–204.

⁶⁷ Nik. Chon., p. 171.18.

⁶⁸ Nicola Callicle, *Carmi*, ed. R. Romano (Naples, 1980), no. 19.10 and 31–35.

⁶⁹ D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe, 500–1453* (London, 1971), p. 158.

balanced'' by the Western (German) impact, would be weaker in Hungary than in Orthodox Kiev. However, what we learn about Byzantine-Magyar princely marriages⁷⁰ contradicts this theoretical supposition.

Nikephoros III bestowed his niece Synadene in marriage to the ''krales Oungrias,'' as the Continuator of Skylitzes puts it.⁷¹ Whether this *krales* was really a king of Hungary and the wedding took place in 1075, before Nikephoros became basileus,⁷² or whether the *krales*, like *carevič* in the Kievan chronicles, was a pretentious name for a Hungarian noble,⁷³ is irrelevant to our purpose; what matters here is the fact that Synadene was married to a Hungarian and that the Greek chronicler found it important to add this information to the story he cribbed from Attaleiates.

Irene-Piriska, the daughter of the Hungarian king Laszlo I, married John II. Cinnamos flatly calls her ''a child of Vladislavos,'' whom he defines as king of Pannonia.⁷⁴ Prodromos praises her once, not without exaggeration, as ''the queen of all western peoples,''⁷⁵ and even more elaborately in the poem on the coronation of her son, in which he enumerated the people that supposedly would obey her.⁷⁶

Stephen, a brother of King Géza II (1141–1162) and the ephemeral king of 1163, fled to Constantinople and in 1161 married there Maria, a beautiful daughter of *sebastokrator* Isaac and a niece of Manuel I; the marriage is testified to by Choniates and Cinnamos.⁷⁷

Alexios-Béla, ''from Oungria,'' was betrothed to Maria, Manuel I's daughter. The betrothal did not last, but Béla married, Choniates relates, a relative of the emperor's wife, Anne of Chatillion.⁷⁸ When Anne died, Béla tried to marry Manuel's sister Theodora, the widow of Andronikos Lapardas; according to Balsamon (*PG* 137: 1132, col. B, C), the request of the

⁷⁰ On some of these marital unions, see R. Kerble, *Byzantinische Prinzessinnen in Ungarn zwischen 1050–1200 und ihr Einfluss auf das Arpadenkönnigreich* (Vienna, 1979).

⁷¹ *He synecheia tes Chronographias tou Ioannou Skylitzes*, ed. Eu. Tzolakes (Thessalonike, 1968) p. 185.23–25.

⁷² Thus Ch. Hannick and G. Schmalzbauer, ''Die Synadenoi,'' *JÖB* 25 (1976): 129, following Gy. Moravcsik.

⁷³ A. Kazhdan ''Iz istorii vizantino-vengerskix svjazej vo vtoroj polovine XI v.,'' *Acta antiqua Academiae scientiarum Hungaricae* 10 (1962): f. 1–3, 163–66.

⁷⁴ Cinnamus, *Epitome rerum*, p. 9.12 and 24.

⁷⁵ Theodoros Prodromos, *Historische Gedichte*, ed. W. Hörandner (Vienna, 1974), no. 25.95.

⁷⁶ Prodromos, *Historische Gedichte*, no. 1.85–99. See M. Mathieu, ''Cinq poésies byzantines des XI^e et XII^e siècles,'' *Byzantion* 23 (1953/4): 140–42. On Irene-Piriska, see Gy. Moravcsik, *Szent László leánya és a bizánci Pantokrator-monostor* (Budapest and Constantinople, 1923), pp. 67–69.

⁷⁷ Kerble, *Byzantinischen Prinzessinnen*, pp. 101–130; Barzos, *He genealogia*, p. 2:314–26.

⁷⁸ Nik. Chon., p. 112.66, 170.12–14. See Gy. Moravcsik, *Studia byzantina* (Budapest, 1967), p. 306.

krales Oungrias was denied.⁷⁹ A little later, Béla married his daughter Margaret-Maria to Isaac II; again, Choniates calls the bride a daughter of Béla, king of Hungary, and the same explicit titulature recurs in his epithalamy and his *stichoi* on this event.⁸⁰

Boris, a son of King Koloman (and a grandson of Volodimer Monomax), arrived in Byzantium during John II's reign. We read in Cinnamos (p. 117.20–21.) that he was married to a noble woman. Who this noble woman was, we can only guess. Odo of Deuil believed her to be a niece of John II.⁸¹ D. Polemis hypothesized that she belonged to the family of the Doukai.⁸² N. Wilson and J. Darrouzès published fragments of a document mentioning the *paroikoi* of the *kralaina* Arethe;⁸³ the document is enigmatic in many respects, including that its year does not coincide with its indiction. Scholars prefer the date of the year (1098/9) and tentatively identify Arethe with Synadene. On the contrary, V. Laurent choses the indiction, corrects the year, and concludes that the document was issued in 1157/8 and that Arethe was the spouse of Boris, Koloman's son.⁸⁴ All conclusions of this kind are extremely hypothetical, and we cannot even be sure that Arethe was of Hungarian origin or related to a Hungarian *krales*.

In any case, Byzantine sources of all sorts speak of marital relations with Hungarians. Their silence with regard to Kievan connections cannot be explained simply by Byzantine haughtiness. The natural explanation is that intermarriages with Kievan princes did not occupy any significant place in the high diplomacy of the Constantinopolitan court of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

There is another facet to the problem. Might we suppose that Byzantine connubial connections, however rare, would occupy a relatively important place in Kievan society, being more numerous than connections with "unbelievers" such as the Cumans-Polovcy, or "westerners" such as the Poles or Germans? This is not the case. I have no intention of checking any other "cluster" of Baumgarten's list here, short of the Byzantine one; I do not question his trustworthiness in spheres beyond my modest

⁷⁹ Moravcsik, *Studia*, pp. 309–312.

⁸⁰ Nik. Chon., p. 368.44–45. See his *Orationes et epistolae*, ed. J. A. van Dieten (Berlin and New York, 1972), p. 35.1–33, 44 tit. See also Brand, *Byzantium*, p. 335, fn. 13; J. A. van Dieten, *Niketas Choniates Erläuterungen zu den Reden und Briefen nebst einer Biographie* (Berlin and New York, 1971), pp. 87–91.

⁸¹ Odo of Deuil, *De professione Ludovici VII in Orientem*, ed. V. G. Berry (reprint, New York, 1965), p. 34.

⁸² D. Polemis, *The Doukai* (London, 1968), p. 123.

⁸³ N. Wilson and J. Darrouzès, "Restes du cartulaire de Hiéra-Xérochoraphion," *REB* 26 (1968): 34.15–18.

⁸⁴ V. Laurent, "Arété Doukaina, la kralaina," *BZ* 65 (1972): 36–38.

knowledge. Let us take his numbers as they stand—for our purpose, this “approximate approach” has validity.

As we already know, Baumgarten registered twelve cases of Byzantino-Kievan marriages. Let us set aside, for now, the fact that we reduced his number, and let us compare *his* number with Baumgarten’s observations of other Kievan marriages to foreigners. Baumgarten’s data include: 16 Polish marriages, among which he lists kings Kazimierz I, Bolesław II, Bolesław III, Bolesław IV, Mieszko III, Kazimierz II; 13 Anglo-Scandinavian marriages, among them Harald to Elisabeth of Kiev, and Guida to Volodimer Monomax; 12 Cuman marriages; 10 German marriages, including that of Henry IV; 9 Hungarian marriages, among them those of kings Andrew I, Koloman, and Géza II; 7 Caucasian marriages; and an insignificant number of connections with Bohemia, Pomerania, and Silesia. France is represented by two marriages, but of the two French fiancés one was King Henry I.

Not only numerically, but especially in regard to importance, Byzantium cannot compete with western relations of Kievan Rus’ in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

What can be said in conclusion? To me, the results are astonishing. Despite the celebrated event of 988, despite the Orthodox proclivity of the Kievan state, and despite the obvious Byzantine impact on Kievan religion, art, and literature, princely Kiev of the eleventh and twelfth centuries stood aloof from Constantinople. Byzantine sources ignore marital connections with Kiev. Hence, there was not a single union of real importance between the two countries, since the Byzantines were very loquacious concerning the marriages of their rulers and rulers’ children. The *careviči* named in the Kievan chronicles are most probably fake—deliberately or through naive errors.⁸⁵ Those marriages that did take place involve primarily Byzantine impostors, Kievan exiles, or the members of the Byzantine second-rank elite. Both the Byzantines and the Rus’ had royal connections with the West and Hungary—they had no connections at such a level between themselves.

Here I must stop and pose the same question I raised at the outset: how far did the “Byzantinization” of Kievan secular society reach after the baptism of 988? The answer must come from scholars of Kievan Rus’, not from Byzantinists.

Dumbarton Oaks

⁸⁵ When applied to princes of Rus’ of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the term *car*’ and its derivatives had no “réalité institutionnelle” (W. Vodoff, “Remarques sur la valeur du terme ‘tsar’ appliqué aux princes russes avant le milieu du XV^e siècle,” *Oxford Slavonic Papers* 11 [1978]: 39f.).

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Byzantine Hagiography and Sex in the Fifth to Twelfth Centuries

ALEXANDER KAZHDAN

Hagiography and sexuality—can two notions be more contrasted, more incompatible? Hagiographical works present the entire life or an episode in the life of a holy man or woman or a group of men and women, or posthumous miracles at their tombs or shrines, in order to provide the reader with a moral paragon and instruction on how to devote one's whole life to God. Hagiographical works present, usually in a sequence of episodes, the system of Christian values, among which chastity naturally holds a place of honor. The gist of the hagiographical message is that the body and its "impure" desires should be suppressed and the sexual drive eliminated. The hero has to forget, in his or her claim to holiness, what sex he or she was given. A hermit in the desert is deprived, for a casual observer, of any marks of his sex, and a woman in disguise enters a male monastery and bravely exercises her piety among the representatives of another sex.¹ Angels had no sex; in visionary dreams they resemble eunuchs. And the monastic community, an ideal of hagiography, was an angelic, that is, epicene society.²

But in the paradoxical, ambivalent world of Byzantium the most edifying genre of literature was, at the same time, the most entertaining one. Meant to indoctrinate and assuming a substantial part in church reading, hagiographical writings were the

mass media (*Trivialliteratur*) of the time.³ They were crammed with *sujets* that attracted the average listener: travels and shipwrecks, natural disasters, fantastic beasts, incredible healings, murders and thefts, and the topic of sex was certainly not lacking. The Byzantines, admirers of epicene angels and saints, were far from being epicene themselves; the average listener of hagiographical works wanted sexy stories, and he got them in quite significant numbers.

THE PLACE OF WOMEN IN HAGIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

In her article referred to above (note 2). C. Galatariotou emphasized the "patriarchy" and "misogyny" of Byzantine society, even though she herself runs into a difficulty—the image of the Virgin Mary. She based her conclusions on Neophytos the Enkleistes. On the contrary, hagiography benevolently accepted the role of women. God created both Adam and Eve, and later appeared in the world via the female, says the hagiographer of St. Martinianos.⁴ The biographer of St. Andrew the Fool agreed with him: it was not the Devil who created woman but God himself; he created woman in order to augment the world, and every man who wants to have a wife can have her with God's permission.⁵ There is no distinction between the male and female in the eyes of God, says another hagiographer,⁶ and the female sex is to be praised beginning with the Mother of God.⁷ Hagiographers assume that the female gender is weaker and

In order to avoid excessively long footnotes I will refer to *BHG*, its *Auctarium* of 1969 and *Novum Auctarium* of 1984. When *BHG* indicates several editions, I will refer (in an abbreviated form) to the one that I used; only if I used a more recent edition not included in *BHG* and its *auctaria*, will I give the complete reference.

¹E. Patlagean, *Structure sociale, famille, chrétienté à Byzance* (London, 1981), XI, 597–623.

²As C. S. Galatariotou ("Holy Women and Witches," *BMGS* 9 [1984–85], 85) puts it: "Saintly women require not only a denial of sexuality . . . but a denial of their very sex."

³Cf. H. Kech, *Hagiographie als christliche Unterhaltungsliteratur* (Göppingen, 1977).

⁴*BHG* 1177, ed. P. Rabbow, p. 291.23–24.

⁵*Vita* of Andrew the Fool, *BHG* 117, col. 765AB.

⁶Translation of Theodora of Thessalonike, *BHG* 1739, p. 42.3–4.

⁷*Vita* of Thomais of Lesbos, *BHG* 2454, p. 234B.

gentler,⁸ but women are able to reject their weakness and act as men.⁹ To be like a man is singular praise for a woman:¹⁰ when the Arab fleet approached Attaleia, the governor of the city commanded the entire population to mount the city walls, and not only were there men holding shields but young women disguised as men.¹¹ Women could demonstrate more heroism than men: in the words of deacon Ignatios, the author of Patriarch Tarasios' biography, during Iconoclasm feminine weakness turned out to be more steadfast than masculine strength.¹²

From this equality in origin, sanctity, and salvation one has to distinguish the inequality of everyday life: hagiographers knew that seclusion was the normal status of women, and only an extraordinary emergency would cause the prudent woman to forget her modesty (αἰδώς) and rush into the street.¹³ It was sometimes dangerous for a woman to appear in public, as is demonstrated by the story of a girl whom a local commander wanted to drag to slavery "only because of the beauty of her body" and who ran for protection to a church.¹⁴ The father of St. Theophano never allowed his daughter to leave the house without chaperons, and she was even sent to the bathhouse either in the evening or in the morning when the streets were empty, and was accompanied by servants and maids.¹⁵

MARRIAGE AND ITS PROBLEMS

On the scale of Byzantine ethical values, virginity occupied the topmost place, much higher than legitimate marriage; it is, however, to be noted that virginity was considered a type of marriage, the virgin (or nun) being proclaimed Christ's bride. It goes without saying that hagiographers praised celibacy; more interesting is their positive attitude toward marriage. A legitimate marriage, concluded with the approval of parents, was desirable.¹⁶ Empress Theodora is said to have respected virginity, but she held marriage in honor—"O

praiseful marriage," exclaims her biographer.¹⁷ Marriage had a twofold purpose: procreation (see above, note 5), and restriction of the sexual drive and avoidance of promiscuous fornication (see below, notes 23, 59).

The conflict between chastity and connubial life is a frequent topic of hagiography. Its simplest solution is an escape from the world to a monastery or nunnery, an action that could lead to a clash with the will of one's parents, as is described, for instance, in the *Vita* of Nikon Metanoieite.¹⁸

In some cases pious girls managed to escape marriage. The hagiographer of three brothers—David, Symeon, and George of Lesbos—relates a novelette about a rich woman of senatorial rank who had two virtuous daughters, one of whom studied poetry and grammar, read the works of the church fathers, and longed for the monastic life, whereas the mother wanted her to enter a legitimate marriage. The daughter would probably have had to yield, but a sudden vision helped her: she saw a man in glimmering garment and lost her voice in fear. When St. Symeon of Lesbos healed her, the whole family, together with their maids, took the habit and founded a nunnery.¹⁹

Other children obeyed the will of their parents, as did Martha, the mother of St. Symeon the Stylite.²⁰ The ancient version of Symeon's *Vita* plainly states this fact, whereas the later short *Vita* dwells longer on it: Martha, says the compiler, did not want, in the beginning, to discard virginity, the treasure favored by God, even though she was often told how honorable marriage and the undefiled marriage bed is.²¹

Hagiography presented a way of compromise between filial obedience and pious chastity—the non-consummated marriage. It is well known that young Theophanes the Confessor persuaded his bride to leave the world immediately after the wedding, and the same effect was achieved by St. Konon of Isauria.²² When St. Demetrianos turned fifteen, his parents decided to marry him off; their purpose was to secure the salvation of his soul, since, comments the hagiographer, legitimate mar-

⁸ *Vita* of Theodora of Thessalonike, *BHG* 1737, p. 20.1–2.

⁹ *Vita* of George of Amastris, *BHG* 668, p. 36.9–10.

¹⁰ Palladios, *Dialogue*, *BHG* 870, ed. P. R. Coleman-Norton, p. 98.30–31.

¹¹ *Vita* of Antony the Younger, *BHG* 142, p. 199.1–4.

¹² *BHG* 1698, p. 415.28–29.

¹³ *Vita* of Tarasios, *BHG* 1698, p. 421.34–35; *Forty-Two Martyrs of Amorion*, version B, *BHG* 1212, p. 13.18.

¹⁴ *Vita* of Peter of Argos, *BHG* 1504, ed. Ch. Papakononou, p. 68.22–24.

¹⁵ *BHG* 1794, p. 3.25–30.

¹⁶ *Vita* of Andrew the Fool, *BHG* 117, col. 765C.

¹⁷ *BHG* 1731, ed. A. Markopoulos, *Symmeikta* 5 (1983), 271, par. 99–101.

¹⁸ On this problem, see A. Kazhdan, "Hagiographical Notes," *Byzantion* 54 (1984), 188–92.

¹⁹ *BHG* 494, pp. 234–36.

²⁰ *BHG* 1689, ed. P. van den Ven, p. 3.21.

²¹ *BHG* 1691, ed. J. Bompaire, p. 79.16–18.

²² *Vitae* of Theophanes: *BHG* 1787z, ed. V. Latyšev, pp. 9f; *BHG* 1789, ed. C. de Boor, pp. 6 f; *BHG* 1792b, p. 20.30–37. *Vita* of Konon, *BHG* 2077, p. 301.1–7.

riage is in this respect second only to virginity.²³ Even though Demetrianos did not follow the example of Theophanes and Konon, his marriage was not consummated, and when, in three months, his very young wife died, she was still a virgin.

A conflict between marriage and chastity could evolve in the process of connubial life, as happened with Melania the Younger. After the death of her two sons she felt an aversion to marriage (μῖσος τοῦ γάμου) and told her husband that she would stay with him "as her lord and master" only if he agreed to lead a life of chastity; if not, she would give him all her belongings and "liberate her body."²⁴ In the later *Vita* of Melania, the sharpness of this anti-marital tendency was reduced, the "aversion" disappeared, and only the call for chastity (ἀγνεύα) remained.²⁵

The revision of two *vitae*, that of Symeon the Stylite and that of Melania, shows a change of attitude: the praise of marriage as "honorable" was introduced and, in addition, the aversion to marriage was muted. We can make a more general observation: the concept was developed that sanctity could be achieved not only in the desert or in the monastery but in family life. Maria the Younger and Thomais of Lesbos (see below) were married women who deserved the reward of holiness; Nicholas Kataskepenos, in the *Vita* of Cyril Philotes, conjured up the image of a saint who, after the birth of his child, limited his sexual intercourse with his wife but did not accept consistent celibacy, and Kataskepenos' younger contemporary, Eustathios of Thessalonike, in an extraordinary *Vita* of Philotheos of Opsikion not only praised the married holy man but proclaimed the saint living in the world more honorable than lonely anchorites dwelling far from mundane temptations.²⁶

Normally marriage was a union contracted within family circles, parents playing a role more substantial than the spouses-to-be. The state, however, could interfere with this extremely private relationship of its subjects. The *Vita* of Athanasia of Aegina refers to an imperial *prostagma* that commanded all single women and widows to marry the *ethnikoi*.²⁷

The wedding feast is frequently recalled in hagiographical writings. St. Demetrianos' parents celebrated his γαμήλιος ἑορτή.²⁸ Moreover, the wedding appears in a metaphorical context as a symbol of joy. Thus John of Damascus, after his amputated arm was miraculously restored, was so happy that one could think, says his hagiographer, he were celebrating *gamelia*, filling the chamber with the noise of marriage.²⁹ When the Iconoclast emperor Theophilos summoned Michael Synkellos, the saint came forth fearlessly not as a man entering the lists but as if he were called to his own marriage festivities.³⁰ A monk is said to have had a vision: a crowd of men in white garments on white horses and a woman in purple among them; their procession was accompanied with music and clapping, as it is, adds the writer, at marriage ceremonies.³¹

Unlike the Byzantine romance, hagiography does not stop at the wedding; the authors of saints' *vitae* knew that marital problems began to arise after the festivities. These problems could be medical (primarily the barrenness of a marital couple) or moral (the incompatibility of spouses). Hagiographers gladly deal with barrenness. A frequent element of the saint's story is the protracted barrenness of the hero's parents that must be overcome by constant prayer or divine intervention. When Theophano's parents had no child for a long time, they started visiting a church day and night and besought the Virgin to give them an heir and participant in their life.³² The Virgin was an appropriate protector of childbirth, but a male saint could also be helpful: the tomb of Patriarch Ignatios healed the barren spouse of a nobleman so that she brought forth several children.³³

When the hagiographer of St. Blasios broaches the topic of sterility, he uses a very risky, almost impudent formulation: a high-ranking Roman was said to have a legitimate wife but no children; he addressed Blasios, begging the saint to give him a child "to continue the family line and to inherit the property."³⁴ The Greek ἀνάστασις σπέρματος, which I translate periphrastically as "continuation of the family line," has the connotation "raising up

²³ BHG 495, ed. H. Grégoire, p. 222.163–67, corrections by E. Kurtz, AB 27 (1908), 31.

²⁴ *Historia Lausiaca*, II, ed. C. Butler (Hildesheim, 1967), p. 155.8–16.

²⁵ BHG 1241, ed. H. Delehay, AB 22 (1903), p. 11.13–15.

²⁶ On this evolution, see A. Kazhdan, "Hermitic, Cenobitic, and Secular Ideals in Byzantine Hagiography of the Ninth [to Twelfth] Centuries," *GOTR* 30 (1985), 484–87.

²⁷ BHG 180, ed. F. Halkin, *Six inédits d'hagiologie byzantine* (Brussels, 1987), p. 181.7–9.

²⁸ BHG 495, ed. H. Grégoire, p. 222.171.

²⁹ BHG 884; PG 94, 460AB. Cf. *Vita* of Kosmas of Maiouma, BHG 395, p. 326.9–11.

³⁰ BHG 1296, p. 242.4–5.

³¹ *Vita* of Elias Speleotes, BHG 581, col. 880E.

³² BHG 1794, p. 2.16–18.

³³ BHG 817; PG 105, 561D.

³⁴ BHG 278, col. 665B.

the sperm," physiologically well connected with the situation of our Roman aristocrat.

A barren couple could expect some help from medical doctors, but this help was expensive. St. Antony the Younger had an adventurous life and once pretended to be a physician; a rich landowner (οἰκοδεσπότης) complained to Antony that after twenty-five years of marriage he had no child and promised the "doctor" a third of his property if he helped, but Antony demanded ten war horses as his honorarium.³⁵

Byzantine society could look with incredulity and suspicion at cases of miraculous assistance that healed protracted sterility. Thus John Moschos relates the story of the hermit Daniel who blessed a barren woman and she became pregnant; thereafter the rumor spread that the father was sterile and the baby was sired by Daniel. Then the hermit worked the second miracle: when the woman gave birth to the baby, Daniel asked the father to invite guests to a banquet, and during the festivities Daniel took the baby (then twenty-two days old) and asked him who his father was. "This man," answered the baby, pointing his finger in the direction of the husband.³⁶

Barrenness was a physical problem to be solved by medical or supra-medical intervention. Another serious problem of marital life was the incompatibility of spouses. The story of Mary the Younger is well known:³⁷ a faithful wife, she was accused by her cruel husband of having a love affair; in a fit of rage he beat her, and soon thereafter she died. Another case of conjugal tragedy is the *Vita* of Thomais of Lesbos. As did many hagiographical heroines, Thomais preferred virginity and shunned physical pleasures. However, she obeyed her parents, "bent her head to accept the wreath," and joined her legitimate spouse. But her husband, Stephen, turned out to be not her ally but an adversary; a man of the world, he behaved like a beast and beat her because she cared for the needy.³⁸ Another unhappy marriage is described in the *Vita* of Peter of Argos: the Devil excited in the wife such a hatred toward her husband that as soon as she heard him entering the house she would fall down on the floor and quiver;³⁹ only St. Peter's intervention cured the poor woman.

Whatever the hardships of marriage, it was a

holy institution, and spouses were obliged to preserve their bonds. Theodore of Stoudios was an eager supporter of the concept of the purity of marriage. One of his biographers conveys that Theodore insisted that a man could be the master of one woman only, as well as a woman the companion of only one man, and this union had to be legitimate and not illegal or licentious.⁴⁰ Theodore worried that Constantine VI's example (separation from his first wife) could make divorce a rule.⁴¹ In their anti-Muslim polemics, hagiographers criticized Islam for allowing four legitimate wives and thousands of concubines (παλλακαί), which indicated to them that Muslims worshiped God as protector of fornicators and even of sodomites.⁴² The author of the *Vita* of St. Andrew the Fool condemns a certain Rafael (the more as he was a deacon) who walked out on his wife and began living with a maidservant.⁴³

More complicated was the case of an illegitimate union, especially that of two slaves, which in the tenth century was not yet considered a marriage. The *Vita* of St. Basil the Younger described a "family" of house slaves.⁴⁴ Following the order of her master, Theodora joined her σύντροφος ("companion," not husband) and bore him two children; after his death she lived in chastity rearing her boy and girl; her master gave her a tiny little room in the vestibule of his house.⁴⁵ She had not been chaste in her youth, and when she died demons accused her of fornication. The angels, however, retorted that the slave maid was not blessed by a priest and had not received a legitimate benediction, nor was she given to a husband in church and adorned with a wreath—her pseudo-marriage was based only on the word and gesture of her master, and therefore she cannot be blamed for fornication.⁴⁶

BEAUTY AND NAKEDNESS

P. Brown emphasized that Christian writers rejected the ancient reverence toward "the fiery spirit unleashed in the sexual act."⁴⁷ In the gradation of sins, the illegal sexual act, πορνεία, was

³⁵ *BHG* 142, pp. 195 f.

³⁶ John Moschos, PG 87, 2977D–2980A.

³⁷ *BHG* 1164, cols. 695 f.

³⁸ *BHG* 2454, cols. 235F–236F.

³⁹ *BHG* 1504, ed. Ch. Papadikonou, p. 69.11–15.

⁴⁰ *BHG* 1754; PG 99, 257C. The passage is lacking in *BHG* 1755; PG 99, 144 C.

⁴¹ *BHG* 1755, col. 137BC.

⁴² *The Acts of Sixty-Three Martyrs*, *BHG* 1218, p. 147.15–22.

⁴³ *BHG* 117, cols. 797C, 800A.

⁴⁴ See Chr. Angelide, Δούλοι στην Κωνσταντινούπολη τὸν 10^ο αἰ., *Symmeikta* 6 (1985), 40 f.

⁴⁵ *BHG* 264b, pp. 300.39–301.6.

⁴⁶ *BHG* 263, ed. A. Veselovskij, I, p. 32.8–18.

⁴⁷ P. Brown, *The Body and Society* (New York, 1988), 432.

given a particular place: all other sins are those of the soul, but *porneia* is bodily wrongdoing. "Every vice terribly darkens the soul, but *porneia* makes the body filthy and disgraceful."⁴⁸ The body was considered sexually dangerous, especially if it was beautiful and naked.

Human beauty was ambivalent; it could reflect the beauty of the soul and, on the contrary, it could deceptively cover the spiritual ugliness of a man. Hagiographers frequently stress the beauty of their heroes and heroines. The pious girl Hypatia-Fevronia, in the *Vita* of the three brothers from Lesbos, shone in her spiritual and physical splendor.⁴⁹ The daughters and granddaughters of St. Philaretos the Merciful excelled all other women in their beauty.⁵⁰ Thomais of Lesbos also was exceedingly beautiful, so that her inner virtues flashed through her external appearance.⁵¹ But beauty in hagiography is a relative value and can appear in a suspicious context. St. Nilus of Rossano was handsome and had a beautiful voice, so that many single women (of course, excited by the Devil) chased him; one of these women surpassed all the others in both looseness and beauty, and she managed to seduce him and give birth to a girl.⁵² The union was probably illegitimate, since immediately after this notice, the hagiographer exclaims that Providence did not leave Nilus to wallow in this mire of a life.

"Good" hagiographical beauty is abstract and removed from the body as far as possible; since the body is shameful, it should remain covered. Heliodore, the Faust-like anti-hero of the *Vita* of Leo of Catania, made several women accompany him; they followed him across "deep waters" and naturally drew up their shirts (*χιτωνίσκοι*), so that not only their knees were bared but their thighs as well. The poor women were humiliated and laughed at.⁵³ Even more shameful was the behavior of an indecent woman who remained naked in the water while her companions, mortified at seeing St. Dometios, tried to cover themselves.⁵⁴

A story told by Moschos shows the shocking fear that a Christian could experience before a female body: a Persian girl asked the priest Konon to baptize her; she was so beautiful that the priest "was

unable to anoint her with the holy oil." She stayed two days in the Lavra of St. Sabas waiting in vain, and then Archbishop Peter (524–552) suggested sending a deaconess to celebrate the rite, but it was found improper. Confounded by his weakness, Konon fled to the hills. There John the Baptist appeared to him and enjoined him to return. "Having removed Konon's clothes, John sealed thrice with the sign of the cross the part of Konon's body down from the navel" and thus quelled his sexual passion, so that the next day Konon quietly baptized the girl "not even noticing that she was female by nature."⁵⁵

Sanctity helped a man overcome temptation caused by the naked body. When Luke the Younger sent the monk Pankratios to a sick woman he ordered Pankratios to take a small vessel of oil and rub it with his own hands on the patient's body. Both the woman and her husband were stunned by this inappropriate behavior but eventually obeyed, and Pankratios rubbed her entire body from head to toe, following the instructions he had received from Luke.⁵⁶

ILLCIT INTERCOURSE

In Byzantine society, which venerated marriage and was frightened by the sight of the naked body, adultery and lewdness occupied a surprisingly important place. Nowadays, complains the hagiographer of Andrew the Fool, the people play like blind and insensible beasts; many fornicate with rejoicing and commit adultery by giving gifts and presents.⁵⁷ The secular administration took severe measures to fight this evil. If we may believe the *Vita* of Antony the Younger, a governor issued a decree ordering every fornicator and every prostitute to be arrested, their property confiscated, and their hair cut off to make them a laughing stock.⁵⁸

Libertines were found in all walks of life. We hear about a poor young man who could not afford legitimate marriage and therefore was defiled by improper and illicit intercourse.⁵⁹ A married man had two eunuchs who provided him with diverse women—single and married alike, as well as whores; his habit was to get up before the roosters and to head to church, but on his way to church he would stop "to accomplish the deed of the Devil."

⁴⁸ BHG 117, col. 828B, D.

⁴⁹ BHG 494, p. 234.13–14.

⁵⁰ BHG 1511z, p. 141.2–5; BHG 1522, p. 76.17–18.

⁵¹ BHG 2454, cols. 234B, 235E.

⁵² BHG 1370, ed. ActaSS Sept. VII, col. 263B.

⁵³ BHG 981b, p. 17.30–33.

⁵⁴ BHG 560, p. 308.33–34.

⁵⁵ PG 87, 2853D–2856B.

⁵⁶ BHG 994, ed. E. Martini, p. 107.4–13.

⁵⁷ BHG 117, cols. 765D, 800A.

⁵⁸ BHG 142, p. 194.16–19.

⁵⁹ *Miracles of St. Menas*, BHG 1254m, p. 148.27–31.

And thus his piety was praised by everybody but in fact he was “a clandestine devil.”⁶⁰ Another man “of the new generation” was extremely licentious (the hagiographer uses the word *πορνοκάπηλος*, which is not found in either Lampe or Liddell-Scott), inclined to incest and lust, even to sodomy, never visiting a church, wasting his time with strumpets, drunkards, and musicians.⁶¹ Women could be lewd as well: St. Thomais healed two of this type, and grateful for her medical help, one promised to enter legitimate marriage, whereas the other’s vow was more restricted—she swore to stop disorderly intercourse with men during the divine and great feasts.⁶²

Even some monks were not free from the sin of fornication. Moschos tells a story of a monk of the monastery of St. Theodosios who left for Jerusalem and went first of all to a brothel; he then worked as a craftsman and led a profligate life, squandering his salary and that of his companion.⁶³ Another monk, while visiting his village, succumbed to erotic desire and at night went to bed with a local woman; his act did not remain unknown—miraculously Stephen the Sabaites found out when and where the man had sinned.⁶⁴ In Capua, due to the omniscience of Nilus of Rossano, the mother superior of a convent was caught in bed with a priest.⁶⁵ Even decent and saintly people could be falsely denounced as fornicators. A former disciple of Stephen the Younger accused the holy man of insulting Constantine V and of sexual relations with Stephen’s spiritual daughter, the nun Anna. Anna was arrested but naturally did not acknowledge her adultery (the hagiographer knows that there was no crime perpetrated), but nevertheless the cruel Constantine ordered her to be flogged.⁶⁶

In this atmosphere of pervasive lewdness, the harlot’s was a necessary and popular profession, and accordingly brothels frequently appear on the pages of hagiographical works. The hagiographer of Andrew the Fool describes a merry company in Constantinople that, after a carousal, headed to “*μυῖα* of crude women,” defiling there the beauty of their souls until the small hours; as they

left they were arrested and whipped.⁶⁷ The word *mimarion* is explained below as “brothel.” We also meet in this *Vita* the term “the inn of actresses (*μυμάδων*)” having the same meaning.⁶⁸ Moschos relates a story of a hermit who could not resist the sexual drive, went to Jericho, visited a brothel, and was infected with leprosy.⁶⁹

Prostitutes were impudent in their dress and especially in their gestures. Gregory of Dekapolis saw in Syracuse a tower built near the harbor; a licentious woman lived in this tower, and the sailors who arrived safe from the perilous sea would be allured by her fake beauty and impudent gestures.⁷⁰ Gregory succeeded in changing her habits, and transformed the brothel into a pious dwelling. The hagiographer of Andrew the Fool also describes a *mimas* who noticed two young men sitting in a public place and right away began to make impure gestures trying to arouse desire in them.⁷¹

Although prostitution was a sinful and disreputable profession, some saints nevertheless had harlots as their mothers. Thus Maria, Theodore of Sykeon’s mother, earned her living as a prostitute in a country inn,⁷² and a later legend made St. Helena, Constantine the Great’s mother, a harlot in an inn, although some historians of the ninth and tenth centuries, shocked by this legend, rejected the story of her improper past.⁷³

Repentant harlots, however, could achieve respected sanctity. St. Maria of Egypt and St. Pelagia are famous examples of transformed prostitutes. Tenth-century morality, which would not put up with the prostitution of St. Helena, tried to reformulate the past of St. Maria—at any rate, in the tenth-century *Vita* of Theoktiste of Lesbos, which was modeled on the basis of the Egyptian saint’s life, the heroine was not a strumpet but a pious nun.⁷⁴ Other hagiographical prostitutes are less well known than Pelagia and Maria, but they were

⁶⁰ *Vita* of Andrew the Fool, *BHG* 117, col. 852B.

⁶¹ *BHG* 117, col. 833BC.

⁶² *BHG* 2454, col. 238DF.

⁶³ PG 87, 2956BD.

⁶⁴ *BHG* 1670, col. 538C.

⁶⁵ *BHG* 1370, ed. *ActaSS* Sept. VII, col. 307BC. Gregory, the hagiographer of Lazarus Galesiotes (*BHG* 979, col. 555AC), also tells a story about a priest’s wife who tried to seduce a monk.

⁶⁶ *BHG* 1666; PG 100, 1125BD, 1132BC.

⁶⁷ *Vita* of Andrew the Fool, *BHG* 117, col. 649AB.

⁶⁸ *BHG* 117, col. 776D.

⁶⁹ PG 87, 2861C.

⁷⁰ *BHG* 711, ed. F. Dvornik, pp. 56.23–57.2.

⁷¹ *BHG* 117, col. 764D. The *Vita* of Andrew the Fool is probably exceptionally severe toward “fornicators”; see J. Grosdidier de Matons, “Les thèmes d’édification dans la Vie d’André Salos,” *TM* 4 (1970), 324.

⁷² *BHG* 1748, ed. A. Festugière, I, p. 3.8–14.

⁷³ A. Kazhdan, “‘Constantine imaginaire,’” *Byzantion* 57 (1987), 212–15. For some examples of harlots in hagiographical works of the late Roman period, see H. J. Magoulas, “Bathhouse, Inn, Tavern, Prostitution, and the Stage as Seen in the Lives of the Saints of the Sixth and Seventh Centuries,” *’Επ. ’Ετ. Βυζ. Σπ.* 38 (1971), 240–46.

⁷⁴ A. Kazhdan, “Hagiographical Notes,” *BZ* 78 (1985), 49 f.

also destined for salvation. Thus, in a fragment from the *Pratum spirituale*, we read of a nun who left her convent in Thessalonike, devoted herself to fornication, but eventually repenting returned to the entrance of her convent to die.⁷⁵

A single good action by a fornicator or prostitute could be sufficient to secure his or her salvation. Moschos tells a tale about an orphan girl who gave away her whole inheritance to save a man overburdened with debts; then, having no means to exist, she became a harlot, but soon “came to her senses” and abandoned this profession. When she decided to convert to Christianity, the pious members of the parish, in their indignation, refused to accept a whore, but their earthly morality was overruled by heaven, and angels brought her to a church and ordered her to be baptized.⁷⁶

A similar story is found in the *Vita* of St. Theodoulos of Edessa.⁷⁷ The saint heard a prophetic voice announcing that a certain Cornelius would inherit the kingdom of heaven. Theodoulos was astonished since Cornelius was a flutist in Damascus, a representative of a despicable profession, according to traditional Christian standards. Nevertheless, Theodoulos started the search for Cornelius and found him in a hippodrome holding his musical instrument in one hand and with the other caressing a bare-headed harlot who wore inappropriate and impious decorations. Cornelius confessed to Theodoulos that he spent each day with whores and actors—but he was granted the heavenly kingdom because once he had acted with sympathy and generosity.

As a matter of fact, Cornelius’ story as related to Theodoulos is the centerpiece of the whole *Vita*. Cornelius, returning home from a nightly church service, noticed an incredibly beautiful woman; he addressed her with flattering words (treating her as a prostitute) and tried to hug her, but she began crying and was unwilling to accept his caresses. Surprised, Cornelius asked her to explain her strange behavior, and she told him her story. She was a daughter of honest parents, an orphan from the age of twelve; when she married, she brought her husband a significant dowry. He squandered everything and, moreover, went into debt and now was afraid of being arrested and thrown into prison. So the woman decided to become a street-walker to earn her husband’s ransom. Touched by

her self-sacrifice, Cornelius gave her 230 nomismata and other coins and things and, without asking her name, sent her away.

The anchorite Kaioumas had to tackle an analogous case. He was summoned as arbiter by a council in Cyprus that discussed the fate of the late Philentolos, the son of Olympios. Philentolos was a generous rich man who helped the poor and even founded a hospital but had “a passion for fornication.” Kaioumas explained that Philentolos was to be saved from Hell because of his charitable deeds, even though—and Kaioumas is less tolerant to the licentious sinner than the author of the *Vita* of Theodoulos—he was not admitted to Paradise; his soul had to remain with those of unbaptized children.⁷⁸

Both Cornelius and Philentolos, fornicators as they were, were rewarded for their good deeds, primarily generosity; Pelagia and Maria repented and became zealous anchorites. The *Vita* of Theodore of Edessa, however, reveals that a prostitute could acquire holiness automatically, without any effort on her part. A woman, relates the hagiographer, had a son who was gravely ill, so she asked everyone to pray for his health; all was in vain until she met a whore, hurled the boy into the harlot’s lap and, genuflecting, besought her to pray. The sinner was ashamed by this unexpected demand, but seeing the boy at the verge of death turned to the East and, beating her breast with her hands, prayed in tears. An extraordinarily brilliant light descended from heaven upon the boy and the prostitute, the prayer was accepted, and the boy recovered.⁷⁹ The licentious sinner could be pure in the eyes of God.

UNREQUITED LOVE

A particular *sujet* of the hagiographical erotic story is the conflict in which one person is inclined to or even longing for intercourse and another resists it. The Acts of the apostle Andrew deals with such a conflict developing within a family, long after the wedding. Maximilla, wife of Aegeatus, *anthypatos* of Achaea, walked “on Christ’s road” and decided to cease sleeping with her husband; she used her illness as an excuse. Aegeatus insisted, threatening otherwise to execute Andrew,

⁷⁵Ed. Th. Nissen, “Unbekannte Erzählungen aus dem *Pratum spirituale*,” *BZ* 38 (1938), p. 357.11–18.

⁷⁶PG 87, 3097C–3100B.

⁷⁷BHG 1785, cols. 752F–754F.

⁷⁸F. Halkin, “La vision de Kaioumas et le sort éternel de Philentolos Olympiou,” *AB* 63 (1945), 62–64. See C. P. Kyrris, “The Admission of the Souls of Immoral but Humane People into the ‘limbus puerorum,’ according to the Cypriot Abbot Kaioumos,” *RESEE* 9 (1971), 461–77.

⁷⁹BHG 1744, pp. 58 f.

who encouraged Maximilla to remain chaste even though she might die in the name of Christ. No threat, however, could break Maximilla's steadfastness. The hagiographer describes Aegeatus' despair; the man could not understand his wife's behavior and kept calling her back: "Why do you disregard your parents who entrusted you to me in marriage, and why do you avoid the [sexual] union? Your parents appreciated in me not my wealth, glory, or origin but my honesty and gentleness."⁸⁰ This appeal to parents is typical of the Byzantine concept of marriage: it was negotiated by parents, but it required an individual will to disrupt the union and accept chastity.

More often hagiographers present the conflict of "unrequited love" in an extramarital situation or in the case when only one part is bound by marital ties. The object of desire can be either male or female; if the object is male, the situation is frequently compared with that of the biblical legend of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, and the man is called "a new Joseph." Thus the "edifying story" of Philotheos evokes the biblical episode, opposing "the just Joseph" and "the impious Egyptian lady," adulterous wife of the *patrikios* Constantine, who tried to seduce the young slave and after her failure accused him of encroaching upon her honor.⁸¹

The *Vita* of Theodore of Edessa contains a lengthy tale about a handsome young monk, Michael from Mar-Saba, who would come to Jerusalem to sell baskets. A eunuch of the "queen Seida," the spouse of Abd el-Malik, liked his baskets, and once he brought Michael to the abode of "the new Egyptian lady." Seida let Michael in; she started with generous promises of freedom and wealth, but Michael responded that he had already received everything from Christ. Seida took the next step and asked Michael to become her friend; by φίλος she meant "lover." Michael retorted that he loved Christ and that his friends are heavenly powers and saints; describing his attitude toward them, Michael employed vocabulary appropriate to erotic relations—sweetness, desire, passion, beauty, comeliness. Then Seida changed her tactics and threatened Michael, but he was not afraid. In despair she exclaimed: "You, poor man, deprive yourself of great benefits—am I not beautiful, desirable, worthy of passionate longing?" Michael did not accept her boastful assertions; for him she

was not beautiful and desirable but ugly, filthy, and hateful. He could not find a better way to offend the beautiful queen, and Seida ordered him to be flogged; Michael, however, endured the punishment for hours on end. Then she sent him, in shackles, to the "emperor," and in a note accused "the impudent monk" of an offensive assault, for which he was beheaded.⁸²

Another version of the "new Joseph" story presents the woman not as a mighty queen or the *patrikios'* spouse but as an ordinary seductress. Thus the Samaritans sent a woman to tempt St. James and paid her twenty gold coins. James let her in, kindled the hearth, and tried to warm her with his hands. The woman, enticing the saint, asked him to stroke her breast (lit., heart), but to avoid temptation James put his left hand into the fire until his fingers burned down. Shaken by his steadfastness, the woman converted.⁸³ Another whore acted on her own. She heard about the blessed Martinianos and proclaimed that he would fall like the leaf from the tree if she wanted; if my beauty, said she, does not shatter him, he is really a marvel not only among men but even among the angels. In the ragged disguise of a poor woman, she knocked at his door and was let in, but the saint retreated to an inner chamber and locked the door behind. When in the morning Martinianos came out to see her off, he did not recognize his guest: the harlot had taken off her rags, adorned herself, and prepared for a siege on his chastity. She told him that she had heard about him and yearned to sate herself with his handsomeness; she asked him why he was burying "such a marmoreal youthfulness," and, referring to the Bible, called him to marriage. Martinianos retorted that he could not marry her since he was poor and unable to support a family. Do not worry, she replied, I have everything—a house, gold, silver, properties, and slaves. The saint, continues the hagiographer, began to be inflamed with desire, and he even looked out at the road, which was deserted at that hour. But God did not allow him to perish: Martinianos collected some brushwood, made a fire, and entered the flame struggling against himself; this fire, comments hagiographer, typified the archetypal eternal flame. The whore was stricken; she realized her wrongdoing, threw her ornaments into the fire, put on her ragged dress, and fell to the feet of the saint asking to be forgiven.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ *BHG* 100, pp. 344.11–345.9; *BHG* 99, p. 361.11–14.

⁸¹ *BHG* 2372–73, ed. F. Halkin, "Histoire édifiante de Philothée injustement accusé par une femme et miraculeusement sauvé," *JÖB* 37 (1987), p. 34.82–91.

⁸² *BHG* 1744, pp. 17–28.

⁸³ *BHG* 770, pp. 279–81.

⁸⁴ *BHG* 1177, ed. P. Rabbow, pp. 278–82.

St. James and St. Martinianos found themselves on the verge of a fall and needed the purifying force of fire to overcome temptation. Later saints seem to have mortified their flesh to such an extent that they simply ignored attempts to seduce them. Elias Spileotes, with a number of monks, had to flee to Patras, where one of the local residents invited him for dinner. Seeing his clean, bright face, the wife of the host, "the new Egyptian lady," "with her heart pierced by the sting of licentiousness," not only ogled Elias with her intemperate eyes but even stretched out her foot and shamelessly rubbed his leg. Her courtship remained in vain; "the new Joseph" was not shaken in his heart, nor did he cherish sweet desire but, as he later told his disciples, his flesh did not even feel her touch.⁸⁵ In more detail a scene of seduction is depicted in the *Vita* of Elias the Younger. His master's spouse, enflamed with desire, besieged Elias with a myriad of tricks: she colored her face brightly as if anointing it with milk, dyed her cheeks red, painted her eyes so that they sparkled, let her hair fall and her shirt trail along; she placed her hands on his bosom, dragged off his clothes, stripped his breast and arms, and tried to caress his face with hers—but "the new Joseph" remained immovable like an impregnable wall or a stony rock.⁸⁶ A similar story is in Prodhromos' *Vita* of Meletios of Myopolis. A noblewoman from Thebes, proud of her wealth and beauty, licentious and insolent, came to Meletios and attempted to incite him by improper movements and obscene words. The saint paid no attention and recommended that she communicate with those who wore long golden hair.⁸⁷

Nicholas the Soldier, when he stayed in an inn, was tempted by the owner's daughter. She came to his room at night and called him to "an impure intercourse"; she was mad from eros, but Nicholas quietly explained to her that she was a victim of demons who were forcing her to lose her virginity and become a shameful laughing stock.⁸⁸ The chaste man should be polite and careful not to offend his seductress, as we can learn from an erotic story told by Prodhromos. Once the monks of St. Meletios of Myopolis went to a nearby village to buy wine; the merchant(?) was a good man, but his wife was a real harlot. She wanted to seduce one of the monks, so she behaved like a lewd woman. She

took off his shoes and offered him slippers, washed his feet and dried them, looked gentle, let warm tears run, and addressed him with the following words: "Why do you need the desert, why do you need poverty? These boorish sandals do not fit you, this rough dress does not suit your flesh. You could adorn a city and be the first among consuls." She waylaid him, she waged a hand-to-hand fight against his invincible soul; she accompanied the monk to the vineyard and there attacked him in her "naked passion," but he drove her away using crude words (and not the cleansing fire, as St. James and St. Martinianos). When he came back to the monastery Meletios already knew about his affair, but he did not praise his temperance. Without mentioning the monk's courageous resistance in the house and the vineyard, Meletios berated him for his swearing and quoted Matt. 23:24: why being meticulous in straining a gnat, did he swallow a big camel?⁸⁹ Did Meletios mean that swearing was a vice worse than fornication?

Saints could be helpful in preventing young monks from intercourse. A woman wanted to arouse a stylite's pupil to the sexual act; the lad was slow in making a decision, but Gregory of Dekapolis appeared on the spot and with his staff chased the evil woman away.⁹⁰

The ultimate temptation scene occurs in the *Vita* of Andrew the Fool: a whore dragged him into a brothel where prostitutes surrounded him and invited him to fornication. The description is naturalistic: they fondled his secret parts, kissed him, and urged him to sate his soul and his desire. But they were unable to excite Andrew and cried out hopelessly: "He is dead or [a piece of] insensible wood or immovable stone."⁹¹

The situation could be reversed, with the woman becoming the object of courting. As in the "new Joseph" situation, two types of attack occur: entreating and forcing. In a short tale, Moschos describes a monk's attempts to seduce a peasant's daughter; she managed to persuade him gently that the fornication would ruin his soul and she would have no recourse but to commit suicide after having slept with him.⁹² Another story by Moschos is about a young virgin who lived in her own house. A man inflamed by love for her (it was certainly a satanic passion incited by the Devil) constantly loitered in front of her house, so that she

⁸⁵ BHG 581, col. 857AB.

⁸⁶ BHG 580, ed. G. R. Taibbi, *Vita di sant'Elia il Giovane* (Palermo, 1962), p. 16.192–217.

⁸⁷ BHG 1248, ed. V. Vasil'evskij, p. 45.14–28.

⁸⁸ BHG 2311, ed. L. Clugnet, *ROC* 7 (1902), pp. 323 f.

⁸⁹ BHG 1248, pp. 57–59.

⁹⁰ BHG 711, p. 67.1–9.

⁹¹ BHG 117, cols. 652D–653A.

⁹² PG 87, 2892AC.

could not even go out to pray in a chapel. The virgin sent her maid to invite him in, received him sitting at her loom, and asked him why he pursued her. I love you, he answered. When I see you I am all aflame. What do you like in me that makes you adore me so passionately, she inquired. Your eyes, he answered sincerely, they have deceived me. She immediately took the weaver's shuttle and gouged out both eyes,⁹³ thus surpassing the ordeal of St. James and St. Martinianos. The poor lover, in compunction and regret, took the monastic habit.

Women are often presented as victims of the sexual drive of the powerful. Many works dealing with the period of the anti-Christian persecutions portray the sufferings of beautiful Christian virgins who attracted the attention of the womanizer-judge. One example is found in the *Historia Lausiaca* by Palladios. A typical Roman judge tried to persuade a typical Christian girl to worship emperors and idols. She refused, and up to this point the story follows the typical pattern. Then Palladios introduced, instead of the traditional motive for torture, a sexually tinged episode: the judge placed the girl in a brothel, and instantly the patrons of the establishment began to haunt this "workshop of destruction," but the girl managed to gain some delay hiding in a secret, foul-smelling room. Then a young "magistrianus" came to her aid; he entered the room and gave her his clothes so that she could flee. The next day the trickery became public, and the "magistrianus" was thrown to the beasts.⁹⁴ The situation described seems perverse to our taste: when love appears, it is a kind of persecution and vengeance; when we expect true love, it is replaced by Christian compassion and self-sacrifice completely devoid of sexual attraction.

Another version of the same theme replaces the pagan judge with a barbarian suitor. Thus the *Vita* of Peter of Argos relates how the Cretan Arabs took many captives and were ready to give them up for ransom, except for a woman who was young and beautiful; they wanted to deliver this woman to their phylarch. The agreement was not reached, the Cretans interrupted negotiations, and sailed away.⁹⁵ The intervention of St. Peter destroyed their plans.

Instead of force, a seducer could employ a simpler, more down-to-earth tool—deceit. The classic example of a forsaken and deceived girl is in the

tale of the daughter of Haplorrabdes included in the epic of Digenis Akritas. A parallel story is to be found in the *Vita* of Lazarus Galesiotes who met a girl moaning and lamenting because she had been swindled and led away from her native land, and her deceiver robbed her and disappeared. I have analyzed the similarity between these two tales,⁹⁶ and see no reason to return to this topic: unlike Digenis, Lazarus did not succumb to the temptation of the situation and remained honest in his role of caretaker of a forsaken girl.

MAGIC AND DEMONS IN THE FIGHT AGAINST CHASTITY

Libertines suffering from unrequited love and unable to resort to force or deceit looked to magic for help. The *Historia Lausiaca* contains a story about an Egyptian infatuated with a free married woman who rejected his courting. The man went to a sorcerer who made the woman φορβάς. The word means "mare" but also has the connotation "prostitute." The hagiographer depicts how the man puts a halter on the woman of his heart and leads her "like a horse" to the desert.⁹⁷ When a girl from a noble Cappadocian family settled in the convent of Irene of Chrysobalanton, her former suitor found a magician, a servant of Satan, who promised to satisfy the infatuated man's desire. Soon the girl was attacked by a frantic lust for her former suitor, so that she threatened to commit suicide unless she was allowed to see him. None of the prayers of Irene and the other nuns could help her, and the Mother of God had to arrange a magic operation to quell the magic forces created by the sorcerer. She appeared in a vision to Irene and then sent the martyr Anastasia and Basil the Great who came flying through the air and let down a package weighing about three pounds; it contained a variety of magic devices, including two lead puppets—one resembling the suitor, the other the lovesick girl—embracing each other. These instruments of sorcery (γοητεύματα) were committed to the flames, and immediately the woman was liberated from her invisible ties and restored to soundness of mind.⁹⁸

Gregory, the author of the *Vita* of Basil the Younger, recalls his encounter with a witch. She

⁹⁶ A. Kazhdan, "Hagiographical Notes," *Byzantion* 54 (1984), 182–84.

⁹⁷ Ed. Butler (see above, note 24), pp. 44.28–45.13.

⁹⁸ *Vita* of Irene of Chrysobalanton, *BHG* 952, ed. J. O. Rosenquist, *The Life of St. Irene, Abbess of Chrysobalanton* (Uppsala, 1986), pp. 52–64.

⁹³ PG 87, 2912D–2913B.

⁹⁴ Ed. C. Butler (see above, note 24), pp. 160–62.

⁹⁵ *BHG* 1504, ed. Ch. Papadikonou, p. 67.23–32.

was united “by legitimate marriage” with the *mis-thios* Alexander but was so licentious that she slept with all the men from the neighboring *proasteia*. Daughter of a witch, she used magic instruments (*μαγικά*) to achieve her impure aims. When she wanted to entrap Gregory, she began to apply, as Gregory sees it, both traditional feminine means and sorcery: by day she strutted before him, and at night she sent him seductive visions. The hagiographer asserts, however, that he managed to chase her away.⁹⁹

Sorcerers and witches could induce sexual desire in chaste persons. Even more dangerous for monks, nuns, and clergymen was the Fiend himself or a special demon of fornication. Moschos, for instance, narrates a story of a recluse on the Mount of Olives against whom the demon of fornication waged war; finally, the monk gave up and called the demon, who immediately appeared and demanded that the monk cease venerating the image of the Virgin.¹⁰⁰ The cult of the Virgin and chastity are bound together in this story, as they are in the *Vita* of Irene of Chrysobalanton.

The *Historia Lausiaca* also mentions the demon of fornication, and tells the story of the deacon Evagrius, who was entrapped by the “idol of desire for women.”¹⁰¹ Theodora of Alexandria was an honest woman living in legitimate marriage, but the Evil One selected a rich man, incited longing for Theodora in him, and with the aid of a witch helped him achieve his goal. Ashamed and upset, Theodora confessed her sin in a convent and afterward, having put on male dress, entered a monastery outside Alexandria.¹⁰² In the *Vita* of Lazarus Galesiotes, there is a tale about a girl in Rome, a daughter of rich parents, who was possessed by the demon; she demanded to be brought to the monk Paphnoutios. Three times she tried to enter his cell and retreated, but finally the parents left her alone with the monk. Then the demon stopped torturing the girl and began to confuse Paphnoutios’ mind, persuading him to have intercourse with the girl. Paphnoutios yielded, perpetrated the sinful act, and later, in despair, ran to Asia and settled in a cave. This erotic affair is omitted in the later revision of the *Vita* produced by Gregory of Cyprus, who only mentions the name of Paphnoutios.¹⁰³

The spirit of fornication battled with St. Ioanni-

kios. The holy man cured a girl who, while walking with her mother, was suddenly assaulted by the *πνεῦμα τῆς πορνείας*, and, unable to bear “the flame of the demon,” began shouting impudent words. The hagiographer tells another story about the spirit of fornication who possessed a woman so that she lost her reason, tore up her dress, let her hair fall loose, and lived like a beast, even feeding on her own flesh.¹⁰⁴ Peter, the hagiographer of St. Ioannikios, walks on a tightrope here, since nakedness and loose hair could appear in hagiographical writings in a different context, as a symbol of the pious hermit living for decades in the desert. As frequently happens in Byzantine literature, the image has an ambiguous meaning. Even though we do not hear about any licentious behavior of the possessed woman, Peter emphasized several times that Ioannikios rescued her “from the hefty chain of fornication,” ministered to her “spiritual shrine” troubled by the spirit of fornication, imitated Christ who had saved the suffering harlot. When Symeon Metaphrastes revised this story, he omitted the sexual element, leaving only demoniac possession.¹⁰⁵

A story about the Devil’s malice is included in the *Vita* of Lazarus Galesiotes. A man from the theme of Anatolikon was taken captive and led away to a barbarian land. He entreated God to liberate him from captivity, vowing that he would never return to his house but would put on the monastic habit and go to the Holy Land. His supplication was heard, and the man was released from captivity. But, neglecting his vow, he headed home, and in a small village a poor woman accommodated him in her hut. The Devil persuaded the man to have intercourse with his hostess, but after he had sated his desire, the former captive learned that he had slept with his own daughter.¹⁰⁶

Sexual visions and dreams were powerful instruments in the Devil’s hands.¹⁰⁷ The demon of fornication attacked Epiphanius, the chaste friend of Andrew the Fool; the young man suffered from these assaults when in his dreams he saw lewd women and sinfully slept with them.¹⁰⁸ St. Nilus of Rossano, while staying in Rome, saw a German woman tall and bulky; the demons who produced

¹⁰⁴ *BHG* 936, cols. 410C, 398C–399A.

¹⁰⁵ *BHG* 936, col. 399BC; *BHG* 937, col. 60BC.

¹⁰⁶ *BHG* 979, col. 529BD.

¹⁰⁷ For brief notes on erotic dreams in Byzantine literature, see G. Dagron, “Rêver de Dieu et parler de soi,” *I sogni nel medioevo*, ed. T. Gregory (Rome, 1985), 45 f.

¹⁰⁸ *BHG* 117, col. 792BC; see also col. 841B.

⁹⁹ *BHG* 264b, pp. 320 f.

¹⁰⁰ PG 87, 2900BC.

¹⁰¹ Ed. Butler (see above, note 24), pp. 121.3, 117.8–16.

¹⁰² *BHG* 1727–30.

¹⁰³ *BHG* 979, col. 521AC; *BHG* 980, col. 597E.

this image insistently displayed it to the saint during his mental exercises.¹⁰⁹ St. Antony the Younger was also haunted by “demoniac fantasies.” Once as he was sitting naked near his cell he saw a beautiful woman, with loose hair (λυσίθριξ appears in Liddell-Scott with a reference only to the Byzantine *Geoponika*), who shamefully headed toward him; the saint retreated to his cell. Before he became a hermit, Antony was much tortured by sexual yearning—the trail of the flesh, as his hagiographer says; so he decided to enter legitimate marital union lest he be caught by “the nets of fornication” and become the object of ridicule.¹¹⁰ Moschos makes abba Elias confess to erotic visions incited by the Devil; unable to resist he ran out of his cell, paying no attention to the stone-scorching heat, to satisfy his yearning. He was burning with desire, but suddenly had a vision of another kind: he saw a deep precipice and corpses reeling out of it. In panic he fell on the ground.¹¹¹

Saints could fight against such visions. Once in his wanderings, St. Nilus of Rossano met a young nun who threw herself down in a narrow passage so that the holy man could not avoid touching her. An innocuous incident? No, Nilus recognized Satan’s trick, hit her with his staff, and quickly passed by. Despite his success, Nilus was frightened by this affair and decided not to allow his brethren to journey alone, nor would he walk by himself.¹¹² Laymen, however, could easily be deceived by demoniac visions. A story in the *Vita* of Irene of Chrysobalanton illustrates this idea. Nicholas was a *misthios* in Irene’s convent. He wanted to sleep with a nun of the convent, and finally, at night, the Devil made him believe that he had achieved his goal; he dreamt that he had passed through the gateway and entered the cell of the coveted woman. But instead of this affair he had a stroke, from which eventually Irene cured him.¹¹³

The *Vita* of Andrew the Fool teems with sexual visions. A woman saw in her dream an old Ethiopian (a symbol of the Devil), who started to embrace and kiss her as if he were joking, and then he asked her to sleep with him. She saw a dog (another devilish symbol); he was big and black, and kissed her mouth-to-mouth, as a man. She also saw herself standing in the Hippodrome and embracing the statues, driven to them by a desire for for-

nication; finally came a vision of herself and a dog gobbling a frog, a snake, and even worse things¹¹⁴—objects that were probably considered sexual stimulants.

The Byzantines seem to have been surrounded by sexual temptation, and even marriage was not a guarantee against the seductions that attacked men and women in reality and in devil-inspired dreams. Priests, monks, and nuns suffered from it no less than secular society. Some saints hoped to escape the sin by fleeing. Thus St. Martinianos expressed a clear desire to live in a place to which no woman had access.¹¹⁵ A young nun in Jerusalem was loved by a youth (Moschos naturally describes his feeling as “satanic eros”). The nun did not wish to become the cause of the young man’s moral ruin, so she took a small basket of soaked pulse and fled to the desert; a miracle confirms that she behaved properly: the amount of the pulse in her basket did not diminish and she was able to survive on this food.¹¹⁶ Some pious men were able to develop such a level of sanctity that they grew insensible to sexual yearning and, moreover, shared this capacity with their disciples. A certain Niketas of Macedonia suffered from “satanic eros,” but St. Meletios cured him so effectively that not only was he above any temptation but his genitalia became completely cool and he remained impotent.¹¹⁷ When St. Luke the Younger and his pupil Pankratios ran away from a hostile invasion, they took shelter in a cave; two women joined them and were admitted by Luke, since it was wintertime. Because of the cold he put the women between himself and Pankratios, but he treated them as a mother treats her child. He remained, says the hagiographer, like a stone or a wooden log, and not even a single satanic thought flashed through his mind.¹¹⁸

CONCLUSION

We have gone through dozens of erotic tales related by hagiographers, and now we must try to draw conclusions from these dispersed and evidently non-comprehensive episodes. The first and simplest statement is that the Byzantines acknowledged the existence and the strength of sexual desire: the body and its yearning was a presumption from which hagiographers would start. Frequently

¹⁰⁹ *BHG* 1370, ed. *Acta SS* Sept. VII, col. 274D.

¹¹⁰ *BHG* 142, pp. 207.24–32, 200.17–25.

¹¹¹ PG 87, 2865CD.

¹¹² *BHG* 1370, ed. *Acta SS* Sept. VII, cols. 299C–300D.

¹¹³ *BHG* 952, ed. Rosenquist (see above, note 98), pp.66–74.

¹¹⁴ *BHG* 117, col. 780AC.

¹¹⁵ *BHG* 1177, ed. P. Rabbow, p. 284.34–35.

¹¹⁶ PG 87, 3049AD.

¹¹⁷ *Vita* of Meletios of Myopolis, *BHG* 1248, ed. V. Vasil’evskij, p. 52.19–26.

¹¹⁸ *BHG* 994; PG 111, 468BC.

sexual desire was interpreted as a result of devilish intervention, of satanic eros, of demoniac frenzy; sometimes such an explicit interpretation is lacking and we may consider it the depravity of human nature. The difference is not so great, since the depravity of human nature could itself be explained by the role of Satan. Touching on this point, however, we face a major theological problem, that of free will, and this is not the place to discuss it.

Sexual desire is the sin of the body, and not of the soul, and probably because of this some fornicators are granted dispensation: first of all, the sexual liberty of a slave maid was not sinful; then a sincere repentance would save even a professional prostitute; a single good act opened the kingdom of heaven for a libertine; finally, God's incomprehensible will could transform a harlot into an instrument of miracle-working.

Of course, what hagiographers recommended was not indulgence in fornication but avoidance of it. Legitimate marriage was the natural choice. Marriage was a blessed union, and we probably can observe gradually growing respect toward it. The earlier concept that the ideal marriage is the one without consummation was contrasted with the ideal of the "middle way" (in the style of Cyril Phileotes) or even of a normal family propagated by Eustathios of Thessalonike.

Monasticism was by definition an escape from sexual activity, though not from sexual desire: not every monk or hermit was above his flesh, and while some of them succumbed to temptation, others would turn to physical ordeals (especially self-torture by fire) not only to quench their passion but to confound their seducers—a theme that found its classical expression in Leo Tolstoj's "Otec Sergej." Some perfect saints, however, reached such sexual aloofness that they became insensible to the charms of the other sex—like logs or rocks, to use hagiographical similes.

Thus sexuality besmears the men and women affected; in hagiography it is never coupled with love. Love is placed on a different level—as Christian devotion or Christian philanthropy. Marriage is concluded not by interested parties but by their parents. It is seen as necessary for procreation, for the very existence of humankind; it prescribes marital fidelity and requires self-sacrifice when the material well-being of the family is threatened. But never was hagiographical marriage based on the joys of the flesh, on sexual love. The topic of human love was reintroduced in Greek literature in the eleventh century, in Psellos, and burgeoned in twelfth-century erotic romances.

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Byzantine Hagiographical Texts as Sources on Art

ALEXANDER KAZHDAN AND HENRY MAGUIRE

The history of Byzantine art deals with two evidently interwoven, but nevertheless distinct, phenomena: the objects of art and the impressions exercised by these objects on beholders. In their turn, the impressions of the objects can be divided into two categories: “our” impression, the perception of modern scholars (or general observers), the live and constantly changing perception, and “their” impression, the impact of the objects on their contemporaries, on the men and women of Byzantine culture. The texts giving the opinions of contemporaries, or relative contemporaries, are of two major types: those writings devoted to the description of art objects—we can use the Byzantine term for them, *ekphraseis*—and the others in which the art objects are only occasionally mentioned.

The *ekphraseis* present great difficulties of interpretation to the modern reader, on account of the rhetorical language and format in which they were written. While they often did incorporate contemporary reactions to the visual arts, and were not, as has sometimes been claimed, merely antiquarian exercises, there is no doubt that their presentation of contemporary art is obscure and indirect. On the other hand, the texts that mention art only occasionally often give us a more straightforward insight into Byzantine views on art, even though there may be *topoi* here too; the brevity of the references is compensated for by their immediacy.

Among the multifarious Byzantine texts, hagi-

ography occupies a special place. On the one hand, it is, relatively speaking, a mass genre, represented by hundreds of works; on the other, it is a genre which was closer than any other (with the exception, probably, of popular chronicles) to the ordinary reader, which contained plenty of everyday details, and which often—although not always—stood aloof from haughty rhetorical schooling. Hagiographers, furthermore, were deeply interested in objects of art, primarily those of religious art, including church buildings, icons, holy vessels, and liturgical books.

In this article, we have tried to follow in the footsteps of previous scholars who have started to gather the bounteous data on Byzantine art that is contained in hagiographical works. We lay no claims to comprehensiveness: the tedious work of full collecting is still to be done. But, incomplete as it is, our survey introduces and categorizes information that has remained widely scattered and difficult of access, being buried within long and sometimes boring descriptions of the pious exploits of saintly lives.

I. THE EXTERNAL APPEARANCE OF PEOPLE

The authors of the saints’ lives shared with the Early Christian fathers an ambivalence toward external bodily beauty. Sometimes outer comeliness was accepted as a reflection of the beauty of the soul, but on other occasions external appearance was seen to conceal inner essence, so that virtue was hidden within a rough and worn body, or, conversely, vice was masked by a specious surface attractiveness. Among those who gave a positive value to outer beauty was the hagiographer of Bishop Theodore of Edessa, who speaks of the elegance (*ἀστέιος*) of a young man, whose cheeks were just blooming with down, and says that the comeliness (*εὐπρεπεία*) of his body makes evident

All of the references for saints’ lives are given to the editions cited in the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* (BHG), 3rd. ed., ed. F. Halkin, 3 vols. (Brussels, 1957) and in the *Novum auctarium*, published in 1984. If the BHG lists several editions, we indicate the one we have used; only those editions absent from the BHG are explicitly named. In addition to the individuals named in the footnotes, the authors would like to thank the following for their assistance in the preparation of this paper: Carolyn L. Connor, Slobodan Ćurčić, Anthony Cutler, Herbert Kessler, and Nancy P. Ševčenko.

the beauty (ὡραιότης) of his soul.¹ In another life, the monk St. Sabas the Younger of Sicily is said to have a “face full of grace . . . and sweet words dripping from his lips.”² Female saints, especially, might be praised for their physical appearance. Thomais of Lesbos was extremely beautiful, so that her inner virtues flashed through her external appearance.³ The pious girl Hypatia-Fevronia, in the Vita of three Lesbian brothers, shone in her spiritual and physical splendor.⁴ As shall be seen below, St. Barbara also was noted for her beauty. On the other hand, a passage in the Vita of Elias Speleotes distinguishes between a person’s inner and external image: a monk Arsenios observed persons attending divine service, and his observations reveal two aesthetic principles of his world view. In the first place, he perceived the people in extreme categories: the faces of some of them were bright, sending forth rays, but of others gloomy and black like the outer bottom (πρόκαυμα) of a pot that has been touched by fire. Second, Arsenios said that those who earned their living in toil and drudgery had “the face of their soul shining”; by contrast, those who were adorned with white and red cloaks were full of hatred, greed, and fleshy mire inside, and were “black in the face of their souls.”⁵ The last observation is common and bears a certain resemblance, for instance, to Gregory of Nyssa’s passage concerning the royal dignity and divine resemblance of human nature, which is revealed not by the externals of imperial costume, nor by the reds and whites used by painters to convey bodily beauty, but by virtues.⁶

Frequently in the saints’ lives inner virtue is conveyed through the imagery of light. Thus beholders perceived Lazaros Galesiotes as a shining (περιφανής) and brilliant beacon sending its rays afar.⁷ Gregory, the hagiographer of Basil the Younger, has an elaborate gamut to represent the brilliance of the human face. Quoting 1 Cor. 15:41, “star differs from star in brightness,” Gregory asserts that at the resurrection of the dead some virtuous people will have flashingly bright

faces, some will have less splendor; some will resemble the moon in the darkness of night, some red-hot irons sending out sparks, some translucent snow, and others red and white roses.⁸ In all, the hagiographer finds six different “tinges” of brightness—unlike the uniformity of brightness seen by Arsenios.

Since the time of Vasari it has been traditional to think that Byzantine saints were represented as unvaryingly severe and rigid figures, yet both in art and in literature this was not the case. A distinction can be made between different categories of saints. Monks and ascetics, it is true, were given physical features which expressed their lives of self-denial. According to the Vita of the monk St. Nikon Metanoeite, the saint fasted so that his face became withered and the limbs of his body shriveled.⁹ “His face,” said the hagiographer, “changed due to his excessive asceticism and became emaciated.”¹⁰ His hair and beard were black and his head was squalid. He was tall in stature and generally eremitical in appearance. His clothes echoed his physical appearance, for he was clad in a tattered garment.¹¹ It is interesting to compare this somewhat detailed description with the surviving portrait of St. Nikon in the Katholikon at Hosios Loukas (Fig. 1).¹² The visual image does convey the quality of the literary portrait, if in a stylized manner: the face is long, the cheeks are severely sunken, and a slight disheveling of the black hair hints at the holy squalor of the saint’s head. A similar dishevelment of the hair is seen in portraits of Nikon’s role model, St. John the Baptist, both at Hosios Loukas (Fig. 2)¹³ and elsewhere. A poem on an image of the Baptism by John Mauropous describes John the Baptist as “a man with long hair, cultivating a wild and squalid appearance . . .,”¹⁴ while a sermon by the south Italian

¹BHG 1744, pp. 14.11–15, 18.20–23.

²BHG 1611; ed. I. Cozza-Luzzi, *Historia et laudes SS. Sabae et Macarii* (Rome, 1893), p. 16.32–35: . . . πρόσωπόν τε πολλῆς χάριτος γέμον ὁρῶντες καὶ λόγους ἀπὸ χειλέων γλυκασμὸν σαζόντων ἐνωπιζόμενοι.

³BHG 2454, cols. 234B, 235E.

⁴BHG 494, p. 234.13–14.

⁵BHG 581, col. 855B.

⁶*De hominis opificio*, PG 44, col. 137A–B.

⁷BHG 979, col. 542A.

⁸BHG 263; ed. A. N. Veselovskij, “Razyskanija v oblasti russkogo duchovnogo sticha,” *Sbornik Otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoj Akademii nauk* 53 (1891), supp., pp. 24.25–25.1 (hereafter *Sbornik*).

⁹BHG 1366; ed. D. F. Sullivan, *The Life of Saint Nikon* (Brookline, Mass., 1987), p. 44, chap. 5.61–62.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 74, chap. 16.7–8.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 154, chap. 44.25–28.

¹²E. Stikas, *To oikodomikon chronikon tes mones Hosiou Louka Phokidos* (Athens, 1970), pl. 27. On the much-debated question of the dating of the Katholikon, see, most recently, C. Connor, *The Crypt at Hosios Loukas and Its Frescoes*, Ph.D. dissertation (New York University, 1987), esp. 303–5.

¹³Stikas, op. cit., pl. 10.

¹⁴P. de Lagarde, ed., *Iohannis Euchaitorum metropolitae quae in codice Vaticano graeco 676 supersunt* (Göttingen, 1882), p. 3.5: Ἀνὴρ κομῆτης αὐχμὸν ἀγριον τρέφων.



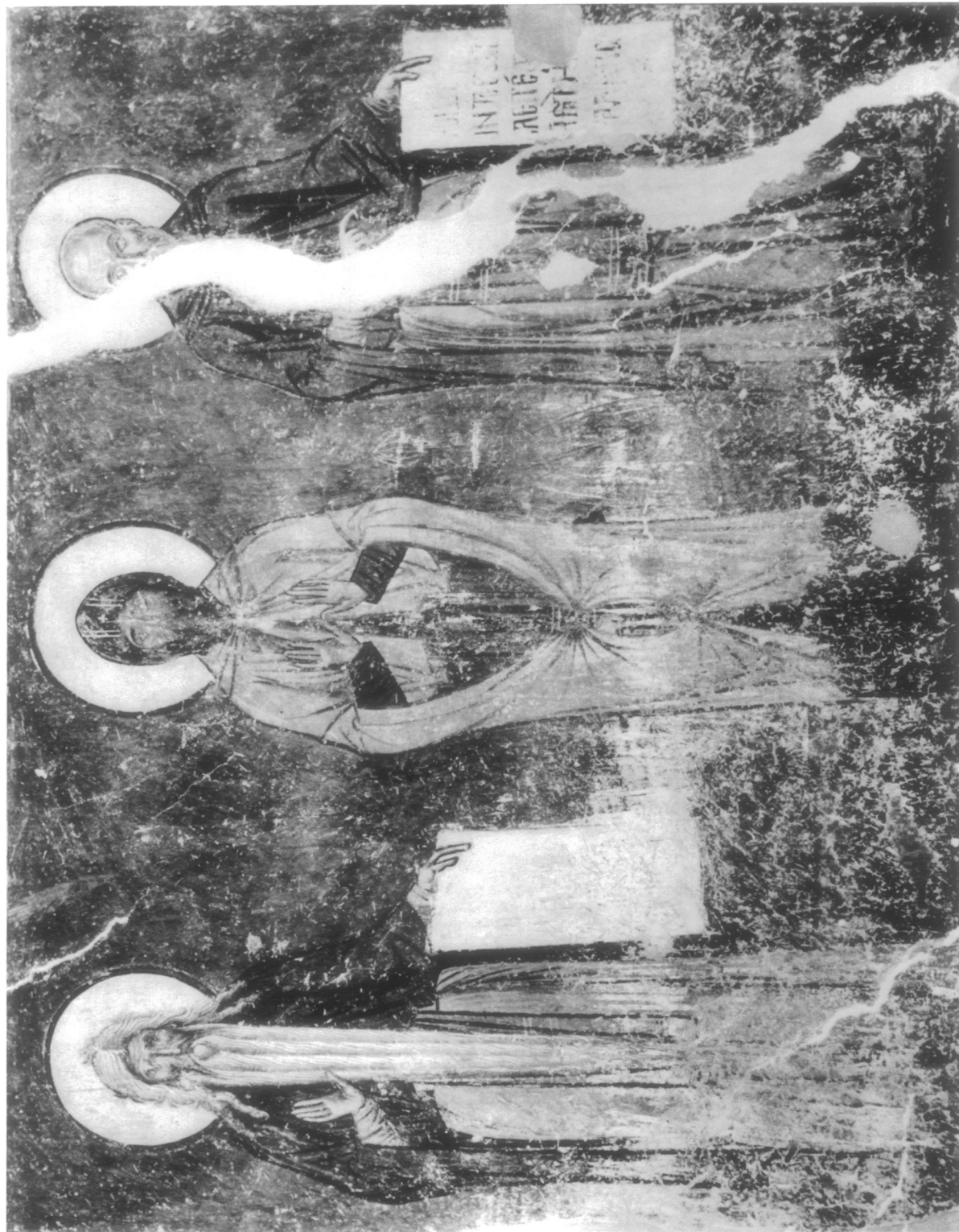
1 Hosios Loukas, Katholikon, mosaic. St. Nikon
(after Stikas, *To oikodomikon chronikon*, pl. 27)



3 Hosios Loukas, Katholikon, mosaic.
St. Demetrios (photo: Carolyn Connor)



2 Hosios Loukas, Katholikon, mosaic. St. John the Baptist
(photo: Carolyn Connor)



4 Nerezi, St. Panteleimon, fresco on west wall of north arm. Monastic saints (photo: Dušan Tasić)



5 Nerezi, St. Panteleimon, fresco on north wall of west arm. Military saints (photo: Dušan Tasić)



6 Asinou, Panagia Phorbiotissa, fresco.
St. Mary of Egypt (photo: Dumbarton Oaks)



7 Monagri, Panagia Amasgou, fresco, detail. St. Mary of Egypt
(photo: Dumbarton Oaks)



8 Monagri, Panagia Amasgou, fresco, detail. St. Barbara
(photo: Dumbarton Oaks)



9 Moutoullas, Panagia, fresco. Sts. Barbara, Marina,
and Anastasia (photo: Dumbarton Oaks)



10 Hosios Loukas, Katholikon, fresco.
"Our Holy Father Athanasius"
(photo: Carolyn Connor)



11 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale,
ms. gr. 923, fol. 328v.
A painter copying an icon
(photo: Bibliothèque Nationale)



12 Hosios Loukas, Katholikon, mosaic.
St. Theodore the Foot Soldier
(photo: Dumbarton Oaks)



13 Hosios Loukas, Katholikon, fresco. St. Theodore Stratelates
(photo: Carolyn Connor)



14 Kastoria, Hagioi Anargyroi, fresco. St. Theodore Stratelates (left)
and St. Theodore the Foot Soldier (right)
(after Pelekanides, *Kastoria*, I, pl. 21)



15 Istanbul, Kariye Camii, fresco. St. Theodore the Foot Soldier (photo: Dumbarton Oaks)



16 Istanbul, Kariye Camii, fresco. St. Theodore Stratelates (photo: Dumbarton Oaks)



17 Hosios Loukas, mosaic. St. Theodore of Stoudios
(photo: Ernst Becvar)



18 Athos, Pantocrator Monastery, ms. 61, fol. 165r.
 The distinction between images commanded by God and idols (photo: Dumbarton Oaks)



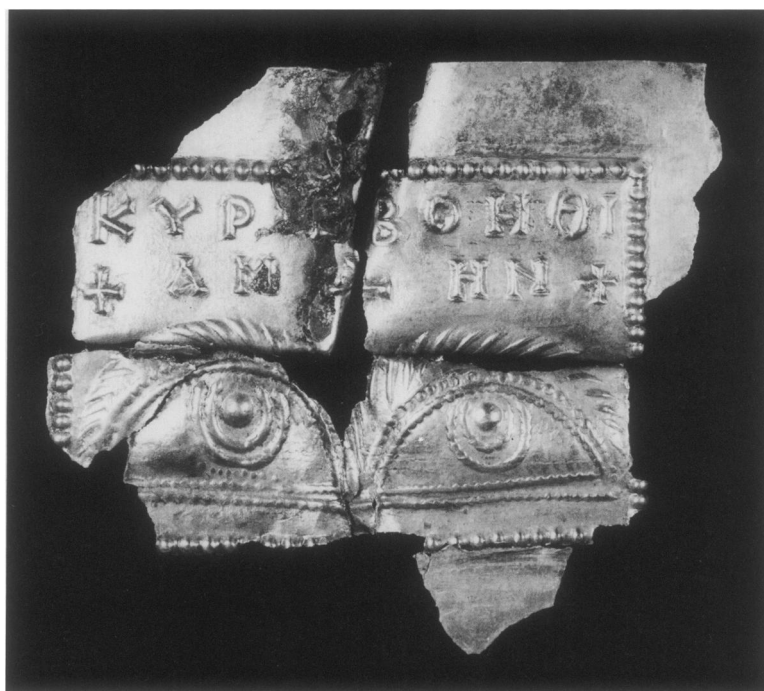
19 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. gr. 510, fol. 30v, detail. The Crucifixion (photo: Bibliothèque Nationale)



20 Mount Sinai, Monastery, panel painting. The Crucifixion (reproduced through the courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



21 Moscow, History Museum, ms. 129 D, fol. 117r, detail. Idols (photo: Dumbarton Oaks)



22 Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, silver plaque from Syria (photo: Walters Art Gallery)



23 Nicaea, Koimesis Church, mosaic on pier to left of sanctuary (destroyed). Virgin and Child "Eleousa" (after Schmit, *Die Koimesis-Kirche von Nikaia*, pl. 25)



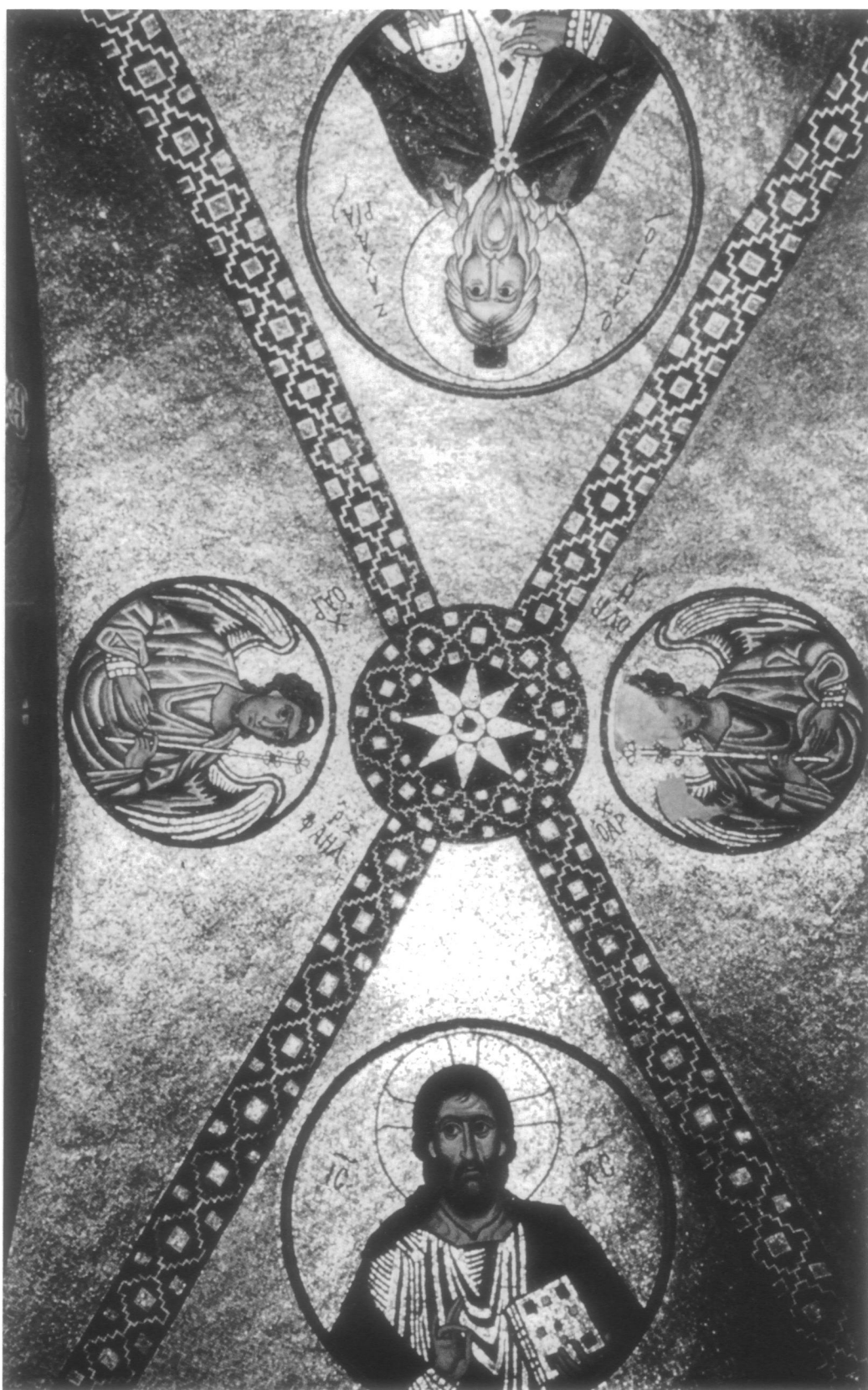
24 Nicaea, Koimesis Church, mosaic on pier to right of sanctuary (destroyed). Christ "Antiphonetes" (after Schmit, pl. 27)



25 Lagoudera, Panagia tou Arakou,
fresco on pier to left of sanctuary.
Virgin "Eleousa" (photo: Dumbarton Oaks)



26 Lagoudera, Panagia tou Arakou,
fresco on pier to right of sanctuary.
Christ "Antiphonetes" (photo: Dumbarton Oaks)



27 Hosios Loukas, Katholikon, vault over south arm, mosaics.
Christ Antiphonetes, Raphael, Uriel, and St. Zacharias



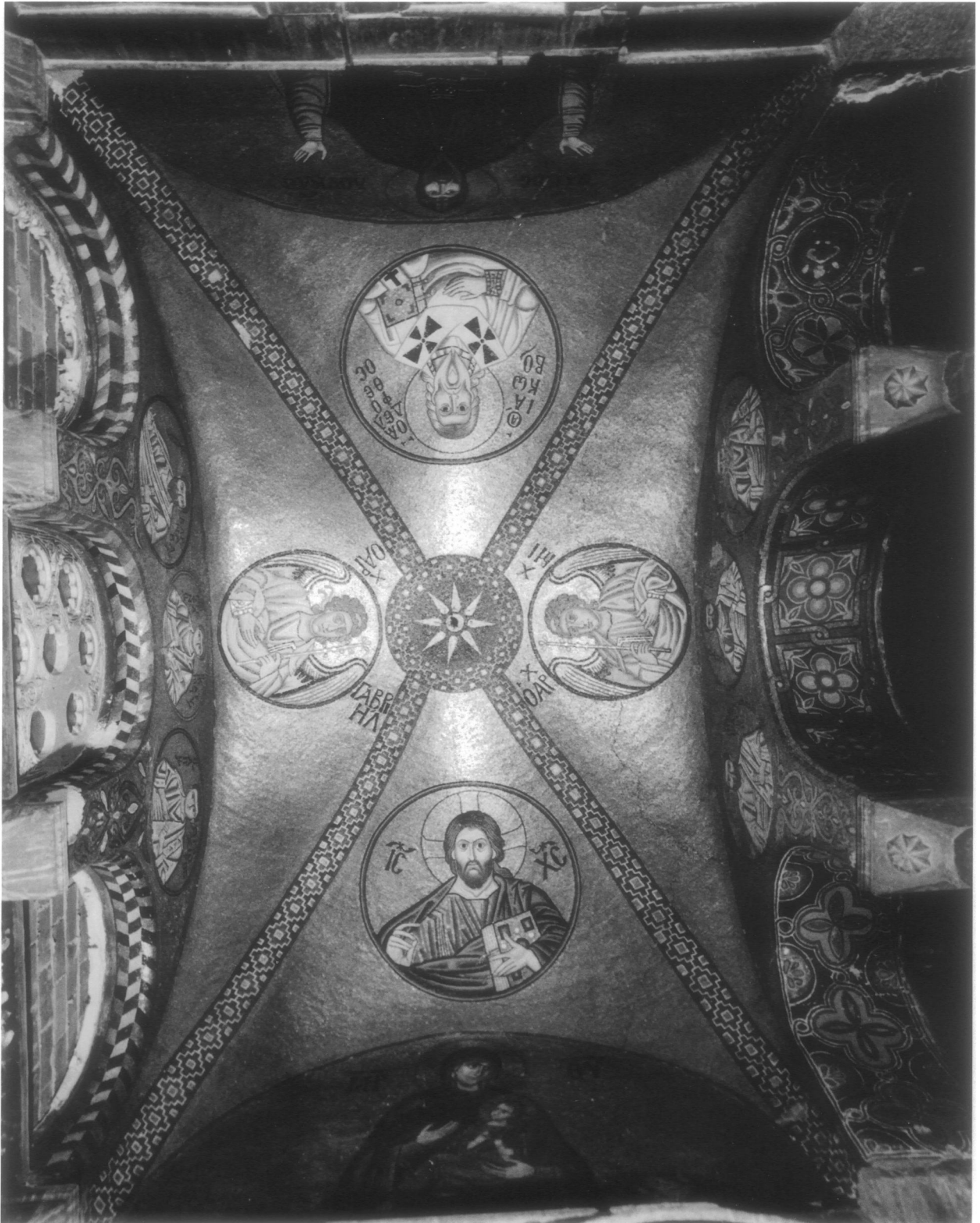
28 Hosios Loukas, Katholikon, vault over south arm, east quadrant, mosaic. Christ Antiphonetes



29 Hosios Loukas, Katholikon, south arm, east lunette, mosaic. Virgin and Child



30 Hosios Loukas, Katholikon, south arm, west lunette, mosaic. St. Panteleimon holding instruments of physical medicine



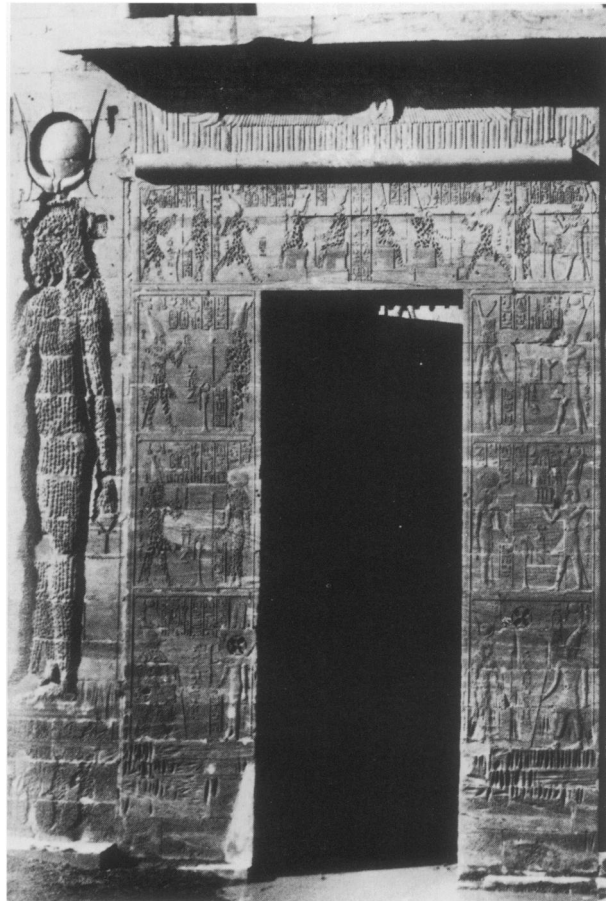
31 Hosios Loukas, Katholikon, vault over north arm, mosaics. Christ, Michael, Gabriel, and James the Brother of the Lord (photo: Josephine Powell)



32 Hosios Loukas, Katholikon, north arm, east lunette, mosaic. Virgin and Child
(photo: Josephine Powell)



33 Hosios Loukas, Katholikon, north arm, west lunette, mosaic. St. Luke in prayer
(photo: Carolyn Connor)



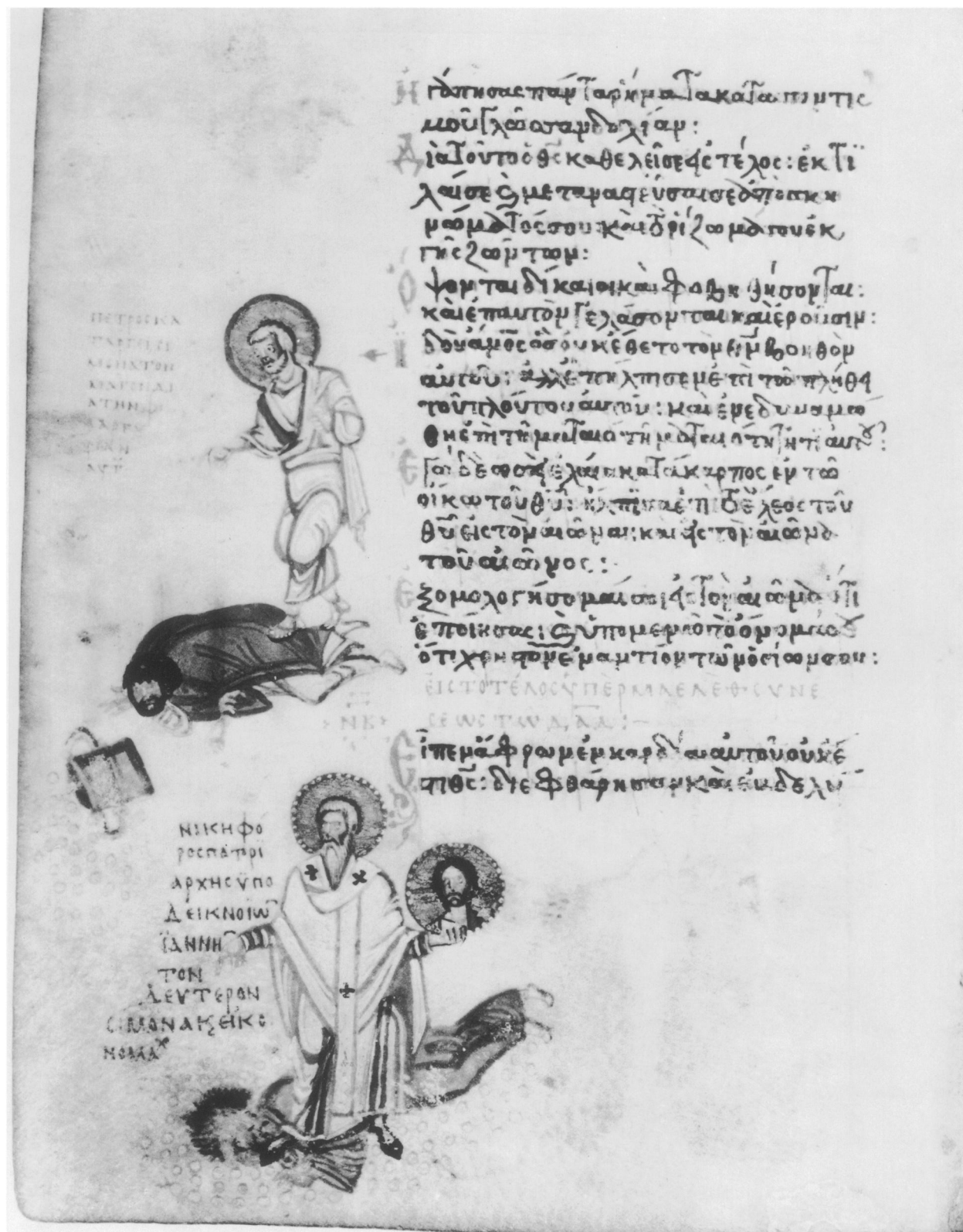
34 Philae, former temple of Isis, entrance of north pylon. Goddess negated by a cross (after Nautin, "La conversion du temple de Philae," fig. 3)



35 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fieschi-Morgan reliquary. Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917, inv. no. 17.190.715 (photo: Metropolitan Museum of Art)



36 Vatican, Museo Cristiano, wooden reliquary box from the Sancta Sanctorum. Crucifixion (lid); Christ, Virgin, Angels, Sts. Peter and Paul (interior) (photo: Alinari/Art Resource, New York)



37 Moscow, History Museum, ms. 129 D, fol. 51v. Nikephoros triumphs over John the Grammarian, "the Second Simon" (photo: Dumbarton Oaks)

preacher Philagathos says that “his head was squalid, filthy, and covered with flowing locks.”¹⁵

By contrast with the ascetics, saints who assumed a military role were portrayed, both in literature and in art, as vigorous and well dressed and equipped. The Miracles of St. Demetrios, for example, refer to the saint as ruddy (πυρράκης) and well dressed, or as a ruddy and bright (λαμπρός) man, sitting on a white horse and clad in a white garment.¹⁶ The description has Old Testament overtones (see, for instance, 1 Kings 16:12: “He was handsome with ruddy cheeks and bright eyes”), but it also compares with panegyric descriptions of Byzantine emperors: according to Psellos, the head of Constantine IX was “brilliant as the sun and flame colored” (πυρρός),¹⁷ while the cheeks of Alexios were described by Anna Komnena as “suffused with red.”¹⁸ The literary portrait of St. Demetrios matches his characterization in the mosaics of Hosios Loukas, where, in contrast to the ascetic portrait of St. Nikon Metanoite, his face is round-cheeked and healthy (Fig. 3).¹⁹

A story in the Miracles of St. George provides interesting insights into Byzantine reactions to icons of warrior saints. According to the text, a group of Saracen soldiers were so insolent as to enter the saint’s church and to drink, sleep, and play dice there. When one of their prisoners warned them that the saint knew, even then, how to repay such wickedness, the Saracens laughed and asked him to point out the saint’s portrait among the holy images that were set above them in the church. Thereupon the man pointed out to them with his finger the mosaic of the martyr; the image was “girt about with brightness, wearing a military corselet and bronze leg-coverings, holding a war spear in his hand, and looking in a terrifying manner upon those who gazed straight at him.” Impressive though the portrait was, it did not deter one of the Saracen soldiers from trying to hurl a missile at it, only to have the weapon returned in such a manner that it struck him in the heart. The

active role of the saint in this miracle was proved by the icon itself, which was seen by the other soldiers to be stretching out its hand.²⁰

This story, while it belongs to a familiar class of legends concerning images that responded to attacks by infidels or Iconoclasts, is interesting for its stress on the physically active role of the image in combatting the unbeliever: it wore its armor and carried its weapons in such a way as to look terrifying to its beholders; it even seemed to be stretching out its hand. In the portrait of a warrior saint it was appropriate to see the strength and power of the body, whereas in the image of an ascetic one would look for the wasting of the flesh. Byzantine artists responded to these distinctions between different classes of saints by varying the styles in which they were portrayed: soldiers were given a greater degree of corporality and movement in space; monks had less bodily substance and were more rigid in their poses. These distinctions of style were not absolute, but relative. That is, within the stylistic range of a given monument or work of art, some groups of saints would tend to be depicted as more corporeal, and others as less. In the frescoes painted in 1164 at Nerezi, for example, there are juxtaposed portraits of soldiers, on the north and south walls of the western arm, and of monastic saints, on the west walls of the north and south arms (Figs. 4, 5).²¹ The monks are characterized by stiff, column-like postures; many of them are seen entirely frontally, and their gestures tend to be shallow and repetitive (Fig. 4). The armed warriors, by contrast, exhibit much more movement, together with a considerable degree of contrapposto. In the group illustrated in Figure 5, for example, St. Prokopios, on the left, stands in a swaying pose, with his weight balanced on his right leg, and a pronounced twist to his body, so that head and torso are facing in different directions. He holds his round shield under his left arm, in front of his chest, while he pulls his right arm back behind his body, as if to throw his spear. This figure, moving actively in space, is very different from the portraits of the monks, whose movements, both laterally and in depth, are much more severely confined.

A similar distinction, between ascetic and non-

¹⁵ *Homilia XXXV*, 4; G. Rossi Taibbi, ed., *Filagato da Cerami: Omelie per i vangeli domenicali e le feste di tutto l'anno*, I (Palermo, 1969), p. 240: . . . αὐχμηρὰν ἔχων τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ ὀυπῶσαν καὶ καταβόστρουχον.

¹⁶ *BHG* 513 and 520; ed. P. Lemerle, *Les plus anciens recueils des miracles de Saint Démétrios*, I (Paris, 1979), pp. 157.17–18, 219.29.

¹⁷ *Chronographia*, ed. E. Renauld, II (Paris, 1967), p. 31, chap. 126.11.

¹⁸ Anna Komnena, *Alexiad*, ed. B. Leib, I (Paris, 1937), p. 111.6, chap. 3.2.

¹⁹ Stikas, *To oikodomikon chronikon*, pls. 47–48.

²⁰ *BHG* 690i; ed. J. B. Aufhauser, *Miracula S. Georgii* (Leipzig, 1913), pp. 10–11.

²¹ R. Hamann-MacLean, *Die Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien vom 11. bis zum frühen 14. Jahrhundert*, I (Giessen, 1963), plans 6–7.

ascetic saints, is observable in the case of females. A poem attributed to Manuel Philes addresses an icon of St. Mary of Egypt with the following words: "Painter, your hand has delineated the shadow of a shadow, for the body of the Egyptian was a shadow; or rather, to put it precisely, from a shadow you have delineated material suffering."²² A similar description of an icon of this saint is given in a poem by John Apokaukos: "... how is the thinness of a shadow embodied [here], being composed of condensed sinews ... ?"²³ The painted churches of Cyprus preserve several images of St. Mary of Egypt that correspond to such literary characterizations. In each case she is exceedingly emaciated, almost skeletal in appearance, with a drawn face and matted hair: Figure 6 illustrates the fresco of 1105/6 in the Panagia Phorbiotissa at Asinou,²⁴ and Figure 7 a fresco in the Panagia Amasgou at Monagri, which probably dates to the first half of the fourteenth century.²⁵

In contrast to these poems and images in praise of mortified flesh, the life of St. Barbara by Symeon Metaphrastes describes the saint as "exceedingly fair of face, and extraordinary for her beauty."²⁶ It was in such a manner that she was depicted by Byzantine artists; she appeared richly dressed, as befitted her high status, usually wearing earrings and a crown or diadem, as can be seen in the fresco at Monagri (Fig. 8),²⁷ which is contemporary with the portrait of Mary of Egypt in the same church. At Monagri the paint is too abraded for Barbara's facial features to be visible, but in other paintings and mosaics, such as the fresco of 1280 in the Panagia at Moutoullas, also on Cyprus, she appears with full cheeks and often with an almost round face (Fig. 9; Barbara is on the left, beside Sts. Marina and Anastasia).²⁸ The last feature

was considered by the Byzantines to be a mark of beauty; describing the good looks of her mother Irene, Anna Komnena said: "Her face was not absolutely round, ... but it departed only a little from a perfect circle."²⁹

II. VERISIMILITUDE

Were the portraits of saints supposed to resemble their originals? To many modern eyes Byzantine painting appears so standardized, so deprived of individuality, that the question itself seems purposeless. But, strange as it might seem, the Byzantines had no trouble in recognizing a strong resemblance between the portrait and the portrayed.³⁰ Leaving aside the plentiful evidence of secular writers concerning the use of portraits for the practical aim of acquainting the bridegroom with his future spouse, we will restrict ourselves here to hagiographical sources and their concern with the original—portrait resemblance.

The references to portraiture in the saints' lives can be divided into two classes: portraits of contemporaries, or near contemporaries, which could still be verified against the subject, or against recent memories of the subject, and portraits of historical personages who had been long dead. A reference of the first type is contained in the Vita of Athanasios of Athos: Kosmas, the one-time sacristan of the Lavra of Athanasios, saw the portrait of his former hegoumenos and immediately acknowledged its great degree of likeness (πρὸς τὸ ὁμοιότατον ἀκριβῶς ἐξεργασμένον) with the original.³¹ This passage is well known,³² and, as in the case of St. Nikon Metanoeite, it is possible to relate it to a contemporary, or nearly contemporary, portrait

²² Manuel Philes, *Carmina*, I, ed. E. Miller (Paris, 1855), p. 36, no. 80:

Σκιὰν σκιάς ἐγραψας, ὃ χεῖρ ζωγράφου.

Σκιά γὰρ ἦν τὸ σῶμα τῆς Αἰγυπτίας·

Ἡ μᾶλλον ὥς ἂν ἀκριβῶσω τὸν λόγον,

Ἀπὸ σκιάς ἐγραψας ὕλικὸν πάθος.

²³ A. Papadopoulos Kerameus, ed., "Epigrammata Ioannou tou Apokaukou," *Athena* 15 (1903), pp. 476–77, no. 15.16–17: πῶς σωματοῦται τῆς σκιάς ἡ λεπτότης, εἰς νεῦρα καὶ σύμμηξιν ὀργανομένη.

²⁴ A. and J. A. Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus* (London, 1985), 119, fig. 59.

²⁵ S. Boyd, "The Church of the Panagia Amasgou, Monagri, Cyprus, and Its Wallpaintings," *DOP* 28 (1974), 277–328, esp. 323–24, fig. 56.

²⁶ *BHG* 216, col. 304A.

²⁷ Boyd, op. cit., 325–26, fig. 64.

²⁸ K. Weitzmann, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," *DOP* 20 (1966), 51–83, esp. 71, fig. 47 (repr. in idem, *Studies in the Arts at Sinai* [Princeton, 1982], 325–57); Stylianou, *Painted*

Churches, 328; D. Mouriki, "The Wall Paintings of the Church of the Panagia at Moutoullas," *Byzanz und der Westen*, ed. I. Hutter (Vienna, 1984), 171–213, esp. 197, fig. 25.

²⁹ *Alexiad*, ed. Leib, I, pp. 111.29–112.1, chap. 3.3. On the Byzantine literary portrait, see Ja. Ljubarskij, *Mikhail Psell: Ličnost' i tvorčestvo* (Moscow, 1978), 230–42.

³⁰ On this point, see G. Dagron, "Le culte des images dans le monde byzantin," *Histoire vécue du peuple chrétien*, ed. J. Delumeau, I (Toulouse, 1979), 133–60, esp. 144–49 (repr. in Dagron, *La romanité chrétienne en Orient* [London, 1984], no. 11), and R. Grigg, "Byzantine Credulity as an Impediment to Antiquarianism," *Gesta* 26 (1987), 3–9, esp. 3–4. Both authors cite some of the same texts that will be discussed here.

³¹ *BHG* 187; ed. J. Noret, *Vitae duae antiquae S. Athanasii* (Brussels, 1982), par. 254.7–9.

³² See, among others, I. Ševčenko, "On Pantoleon the Painter," *JÖB* 21 (1972), 241–49, esp. 244–45 (repr. in idem, *Ideology, Letters and Culture in the Byzantine World* [London, 1982], no. XII); Grigg, "Byzantine Credulity," 3.

similar to the one that Kosmas may have seen. Among the frescoes in the crypt of the Katholikon of Hosios Loukas is a bust in a medallion labeled "Our Holy Father Athanasios" (Fig. 10); while the identification is disputed, there are reasons for believing that this individual is indeed the abbot of the Grand Laura.³³

In the case of St. Athanasios there was a straightforward recognition of the icon by someone who knew the person portrayed. More often, however, dreams or visions were involved. Either someone had a dream of the saint and subsequently recognized him or her in an icon, or else someone saw the icon first, and then recognized the saint in a dream. A legend of the first variety is found in the Vita of Irene, abbess of Chrysobalanton. One night Emperor Basil I had a vision of St. Irene who three times announced her name; in the morning, he immediately dispatched the protovestiaris, the sakellarios, and other high-ranking officials to the nunnery of Chrysobalanton. In the retinue was also a *zōgraphos* assigned to paint Irene's icon (πρόσωπον εἰκονισθέν). The emperor's envoys managed to engage the abbess in conversation for a sufficient length of time to enable the painter to produce an accurate likeness of her. When the portrait was brought to the emperor he was frightened by the resemblance of the icon to the woman of his vision.³⁴ A story of the second type, in which the seeing of the icon precedes the vision, is told by Gregory, the early tenth-century author of the Translation of St. Theodora of Thessaloniki. He records that a girl had a vision of two ladies, and one of them she recognized as Theodora, since the woman resembled the image (μορφή) of an icon from which myrrh-fragrant oil was gushing.³⁵

In several stories the saint has to appear in a vision to the artist, so that the icon can be made; as the story of Irene of Chrysobalanton has demonstrated, a "sitter" was required in order to create a portrait, and if there was no sitter, a miracle was

necessary to make good the absence.^{35a} The story of the portrait of Nikon Metanoieite is a well-known example of this type. It has already been cited above, but it is so important that we shall relate it more fully here. After Nikon's death, says the hagiographer, John Malakenos invited a dexterous (ἄριστόχειρ) artist, described to him Nikon's appearance (μορφή), that is, his stature, hair, and dress, and ordered the painter to produce on a board a likeness (ἐμφέρεσις) of the saint. The artist went home and began working but was unable to paint. He could not, comments the hagiographer, recreate the precise similarity of the man whom he had never seen, although he possessed the utmost skill in his profession. Only when a monk entered his house and claimed a perfect similarity to Nikon did the artist rush to the board to execute the painting, only to find the holy appearance (μορφή) automatically formed (literally, impressed: ἐκτυπωθεῖσα) there. When he wanted to look once more on the monk, the apparition disappeared. Naturally, the portrait that he brought to Malakenos bore a striking similarity to the saint's features.³⁶ This story, of course, intentionally echoes the creation of the holiest of the miraculously produced icons, the mandilion of Christ, which is referred to in the account of its translation from Edessa to Constantinople in 944 as an "image" or "impression" (ἐκτύπωμα).³⁷

Another, less well-known story of a miraculous sitter concerns St. Maria the Younger. After her demise, she appeared in a vision to a painter, who lived as a recluse in Rhaidesto (Thrace), and ordered him to paint her icon, "as you see me now." She required the artist to represent her on the icon accompanied by her two boys and her maidservant Agathe. The old painter produced Maria's image, "as he has seen her in his dream," and sent it to the town of Vize. Those inhabitants of Vize who had

³³ M. Chatzidakis, "À propos de la date et du fondateur de Saint-Luc," *CahArch* 19 (1969), 127–50, esp. 140–44, identifies the portrait as an unknown abbot of Hosios Loukas; Connor, *The Crypt at Hosios Loukas*, 161–63, 222, argues for Athanasios of Athos. Later portraits of St. Athanasios of Athos are discussed by G. Galavaris, "The Portraits of St. Athanasios of Athos," *ByzSt* 5 (1978), 96–124.

³⁴ *BHG* 952; ed. J. O. Rosenquist (Uppsala, 1986), pp. 90.20–22, 92.24–28, 96.14–30.

³⁵ *BHG* 1739, p. 47.29–31. Ch. Bakirtzis has identified this image with a painted marble relief icon now in the Byzantine Museum at Athens: "Marmarine eikona tes Hagias Theodoras," *Hellenika* 39 (1988), 158–63, fig. 1.

^{35a} In the Life of Theodore of Sykeon, it is related that an artist was invited by the monks of the monastery of St. Stephen of Rhomaioi in Constantinople to paint the saint's portrait so that they could set it up in their monastery for his memory and their benediction. The painter had to resort to observing the saint surreptitiously through a small hole in order to capture his likeness (τὸ εἶδος τοῦ προσώπου) without being observed. Later, when the saint was asked to bless the portrait, he did so, but accused the painter of theft. *BHG* 1748; ed. Festugière, I, par. 139.1–10; see R. Cormack, *Writing in Gold: Byzantine Society and Its Icons* (London, 1985), 39.

³⁶ *BHG* 1366; ed. Sullivan (above, note 9), pp. 152–56, chap. 44.12–55.

³⁷ *Narratio de imagine Edessena*, 1; PG 113, col. 424A. See *Image et signification: Rencontres de l'École du Louvre* (Paris, 1983), 309 (commentary on Christoph von Schönborn, "Les icônes qui ne sont pas faites de main d'homme").

seen Maria alive were amazed by the icon's likeness to the woman they had known.³⁸

Finally, the Life of Theodora of Thessaloniki tells a detailed story about the creation of an icon of the saint, which may be the same image that featured in the legend related above. There was a *zō-graphos* John who never had a chance to see Theodora "in the flesh," nor had he visited her convent. But after her death he had a vision: he saw himself lying in the narthex of the church in which Theodora's tomb was installed. In the morning he walked to the convent, and as soon as he crossed the threshold of the narthex he understood that this was the setting he had seen in his dream. That night he dreamt that he was sketching the icon of a nun whose name he did not know. The dream was repeated, whereupon the painter returned to the convent and started painting the icon of St. Theodora, and even though he swore by oath that he had never seen her, "and had asked no one about her height, the nature of her complexion, or the appearance of her features," yet everybody who knew her asserted that the saint had the same appearance (*μορφή*) when she was younger. After a time, myrrh flowed from the right palm of this image, in such quantities as "to wash off its paint-work."³⁹

Thus, similarity to the archetype was a principle required by Byzantine aesthetics. In the stories cited above, the saints could be painted by contemporary artists and recognized by those who knew them in life; but the Virgin, the apostles, and other long-departed saints were divided from Byzantine painters by a significant period of time, and their icons could be made only on the basis of earlier images. Yet the concept of resemblance was applied even to their portraits; the legends constantly lay stress on the accuracy of the portraits. "Such was this well-renowned father," wrote an encomiast of St. Peter's disciple, St. Marcianus of Syracuse, "as is conveyed by the appearance of his countenance on his icon."⁴⁰ A hagiographer of the apostle Andrew tells us that a church was built to the saint in the emporion Charax (region of Pontus) by local inhabitants; there, near the cross, they made an icon of Andrew that "resembled" the apostle "in all

respects." The writer adds: "It was painted in full truth (*πιστῶς*) on a wall."⁴¹ Many stories about miracle-working were linked to this icon.

The most authentic likenesses, of course, were the images "not made by hands." On occasion, these *acheiropoiētoi* could be miraculously copied, just as the originals themselves were miraculous copies of the prototype. Paul of Latros wanted to make a copy of Christ's not-made-by-hands icon, the holy mandilion. A miracle came to his help: a piece of linen the same size as the mandilion was applied to the icon, and immediately it caught the impression, becoming, as the hagiographer puts it, "a *typos* of the *typos*."⁴² More often, however, it was necessary to copy each icon laboriously from an earlier one, as can be seen in Figure 11, a miniature from a manuscript of the *Sacra Parallela* in Paris (ms. gr. 923, fol. 328v),⁴³ which illustrates a passage from a letter by Basil of Caesarea: "... painters when they paint icons from icons, looking closely at the model, are eager to transfer the character of the icon to their own masterpiece."⁴⁴ During this process inaccuracies could be introduced. In the Homily on Gordios, Basil of Caesarea himself complained that artists, while copying (*μεταγράφωσι*) icons from icons, usually departed from the archetype.⁴⁵ However, visions could play a useful role in authenticating the veracity of icons portraying historical saints. Thus the hagiographer of Stephen the Younger gives a brief description of the icon of the Virgin that was in the church of the Blachernae, saying that the mother of God was represented there holding the Son in her arms. In a vision to the mother of St. Stephen, says the hagiographer, the Virgin appeared similar to the icon he has just described.⁴⁶ For the concept of similarity he employs the word *ὁμοιοπλάστως*, not used in antiquity and known to Lampe from this passage only. It is significant that the Iconodules needed a special term to express the notion of "iconic resemblance." In the version of Metaphrastes the episode is contracted, the description of the icon is omitted, and, not pointing out the resemblance of the two images, the learned ha-

³⁸BHG 1164, 699BC. See now S. Kissas, "Ho Bios tes Hagias Marias tes Neas hos pege gia ten archaiologia kai historia tes technes," *ByzF* 14.1 (= *First International Symposium for Thracian Studies: Byzantine Thrace, Image and Character*, ed. Ch. Bakirtzis, [Amsterdam, 1989]), 253–64, esp. 258.

³⁹BHG 1737, pp. 31–32; cf. BHG 1738, pp. 32–33.

⁴⁰BHG 1030, col. 277C.

⁴¹BHG 100, p. 330.8–13.

⁴²BHG 1474; ed. *AnalBoll* 11 (1892), 150.18–151.6.

⁴³K. Weitzmann, *The Miniatures of the Sacra Parallela* (Princeton, 1979), 213, pl. 126, fig. 569.

⁴⁴Basil of Caesarea, *Epistles*, PG 96, col. 352B: "Ὡστερ οἱ ζωγράφοι, ὅταν ἀπὸ εἰκόνων εἰκόνας γράφωσιν, πυκνὰ πρὸς τὸ παράδειγμα βλέποντες, τῶν εἰκόνων τῶν ἐκείνων χαρακτήρα πρὸς τὸ ἑαυτῷ σπουδάζουσιν μεταθεῖναι φιλοτέχνημα.

⁴⁵BHG 703; ed. PG 31, col. 493A.

⁴⁶BHG 1666, col. 1076BD.

giographer of the tenth century is satisfied with a standardized formula that the woman of the vision possessed “ineffable and unspeakable beauty.”⁴⁷

If it was possible for a vision to support an icon of a long-dead saint, an icon could also support a vision. Thus the Vita of Pope Sylvester, and various legends depending upon it, tell the story of Constantine the Great who had a vision of the apostles Peter and Paul persuading him to convert to Christianity; when thereafter he was shown the icons of the apostles he forthwith acknowledged in the portraits the men of his vision.⁴⁸ In the Miracles of St. Artemios we are told of a twelve-year old girl, Euphemia, who had a vision of the saint in which he appeared “the same as the icon” (ὁμοιος ἦν τῆς ἐστῶσης εἰκόνης) on the lefthand side of the templon in the church containing his relics. She also saw angels resembling those portrayed flanking Christ on another icon in the same church (ἐν εἰκόνι γεγραμμένους ἀγγέλους).⁴⁹

Archbishop John in his Miracles of St. Demetrios speaks at least three times about the resemblance of the saint’s icons to his appearance as revealed in visions. He tells us that Demetrios appeared on a bright day to the naukleros Stephen, adding: “in the same *schēma* he has been represented on icons.”⁵⁰ Another man saw Demetrios sitting on the bishop’s throne “in the same *schēma* as it is represented on icons.”⁵¹ Lemerle translates the word σχῆμα as costume,⁵² but probably a more general word such as “appearance” would suit the sense better. At any rate, in the third case, John underscores specifically that the portrait resemblance referred to the image, not the dress, of the saint: a certain man of high birth, an *illoustrios*, saw Demetrios’ “angel-like face”; it was the appearance (ἰδέα) that one might behold represented on ancient icons. The only concrete detail that John gives of this angel-like face is its brightness: “the color of his face sent forth the lustre of sun rays.”⁵³

⁴⁷ BHG 1667; ed. F. Iadevaia, *Vita di S. Stefano Minore* (Messina, 1984), p. 69.60–73.

⁴⁸ A. Kazhdan, “Constantin imaginaire,” *Byzantion* 57 (1987), 196–250, esp. 231 f.

⁴⁹ BHG 173; ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Varia graeca sacra*, p. 53.23–28. The passage is discussed by C. Mango, “On the History of the *Templon* and the Martyrion of St. Artemios at Constantinople,” *Zograf* 10 (1979), 40–43, esp. 43.

⁵⁰ BHG 507; ed. Lemerle, I, p. 102.7–9. For a discussion of the *Miracles* in relation to art, see Cormack, *Writing in Gold*, 60–94.

⁵¹ BHG 509; ed. Lemerle, I, p. 115.16–17: καὶ τὸν πανένδοξον ἀθλοφόρον τοῦ Χριστοῦ Δημήτριον ἐφεζόμενον οὕτως ὅπου σχήματι κατὰ τὰς εἰκόνας ἐγγράφεται.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 111.

⁵³ BHG 514; ed. Lemerle, I, p. 162.16–18.

The repeated statements in contemporary sources about the verisimilitude of Byzantine paintings have puzzled many modern observers, who have seen Byzantine painting as lacking in naturalism. Two explanations can be offered for this difference between twentieth-century perceptions of Byzantine portraiture and contemporary reactions. The first explanation, which has already been suggested by several scholars, is that the Byzantines, not being used to photography, or indeed to the more illusionistic art developed during the Renaissance, had lower expectations than modern viewers.⁵⁴ They were more easily satisfied by a more schematic image—much as black and white photography was accepted before the invention of color films. The second explanation is tied to the first: for the very reason that the Byzantines were used to a narrower range of possibilities (a more restricted semantic field), they were more alert than the modern observer to small distinctions and nuances within their art. Where a present-day viewer sees only uniformity and a lack of differentiation, the Byzantine viewer could see variety.

We have already seen how Byzantine artists distinguished between classes of saints (monks and soldiers) with respect to the styles in which they were painted. For the better known saints they also developed conventions of portraiture, by which individual saints could be recognized through precise visual signs. There had always been established and well-known portrait types for the major apostles, such as Peter, Paul, and Andrew, mentioned in the stories above. But, particularly after the tenth century, Byzantine artists introduced, or reintroduced, portrait types for many lesser saints;⁵⁵ while it may be easy for modern viewers to overlook these likenesses, Byzantine worshipers must have been expected to recognize them. An interesting story, in this regard, is related in a sermon on the Annunciation by Leo, the mid-ninth-century archbishop of Thessaloniki. Leo tells of a young Jewish woman to whom the Virgin and St. Demetrios appeared at night. Subsequently, she saw various images in a baptistery, and was immediately able to pick out from the others the icons

⁵⁴ On the “horizon of expectation” in Byzantine art, see most recently Grigg, “Byzantine Credulity” (above, note 30), esp. p. 4.

⁵⁵ H. Buchthal, “Some Notes on Byzantine Hagiographical Portraiture,” *GBA* 62 (1963), 81–90. The Byzantines seem to have been much more concerned with defining portrait types of saints than for Old Testament figures such as prophets, where there was little consistency; see J. Lowden, *Illuminated Prophet Books* (University Park, Pa., 1988), 51, 55–61.

of the two saints, on account of their "distinct characteristics."⁵⁶

How subtle the characteristics of the individual saints could be is illustrated by the two Saints Theodore. Each soldier has a long face with full, curly hair and a long, pointed beard (Figs. 5, 12–16). At first sight they appear similar. Closer inspection, however, reveals a consistent set of features differentiating between the two men.⁵⁷ The foot soldier has a somewhat longer face than the general; his beard is thicker and longer; and his hair is shorter, so that his ears are completely visible. These facial characteristics enable the saints to be clearly distinguished from each other in paintings and mosaics executed at different periods and in different styles, whether it is the relatively abstract rendering of Hosios Loukas (Figs. 12, 13),⁵⁸ the late Comnenian mannerism of Nerezi (Fig. 5) and the Hagioi Anargyroi at Kastoria (Fig. 14),⁵⁹ or the more classical art of the painter at the Kariye Camii (Figs. 15, 16).⁶⁰ The legend of the Life of St. Theodore the Foot Soldier shows a concern for the precise delineation of his features, in telling how Eusebia, his benefactress, decided to obtain his icon after his death. She visited an artist (γραφεύς) and described to him the *schēma* and face of the late saint. Soon thereafter the saint himself appeared to the artist in a vision as a soldier returning from a long expedition, and ordered the man to paint him "with precision" (ἀκριβῶς). When the portrait was finished, the "sitter" disappeared, and, of course, when Eusebia saw it she recognized Theodore.⁶¹

⁵⁶V. Laurent, "Une homélie inédite de l'archevêque de Thessalonique Léon le Philosophe sur l'Annonciation," *ST* 232 (1964), p. 301.146–51. The story is cited by R. Cormack, "The Mosaic Decoration of St. Demetrios, Thessaloniki," *BSA* 64 (1969), 17–52, esp. 51.

⁵⁷L. Mavrodinova, "Saint Théodore, évolution et particularités de son type iconographique dans la peinture médiévale," *Bulletin de l'Institut des Arts, Académie Bulgare des Sciences*, 13 (1969), 33–52. Nicolas Oikonomides glosses over the differences between the two faces ("C'est comme si les artistes voulaient représenter deux fois le même personnage"), but this does not invalidate his hypothesis that both images derived from a single portrait type: "Le dédoublement de Saint Théodore et les villes d'Euchaïta et d'Euchaneia," *AnalBoll* 104 (1986), 327–35.

⁵⁸Stikas, *To oikodomikon chronikon*, pl. 42 (Theodore Teron); T. Chatzidakis-Bacharas, *Hoi toichographoi tou Hosiou Louka* (Athens, 1982), 69–70, pls. 4–5 (Theodore Stratelates).

⁵⁹S. Pelekanides, *Kastoria, I. Byzantinai toichographiai* (Thessaloniki, 1953), pl. 21a.

⁶⁰P. A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, I (New York, 1966), 255; III, pls. 494–97.

⁶¹*BHG* 1764; ed. *ActaSS*, Nov. IV, 52EF. See C. Zuckerman, "The Reign of Constantine V in the Miracles of St. Theodore the Recruit," *REB* 46 (1988), 191.

The physiognomic characteristics of individual saints, which were listed in post-Byzantine painters' guides, such as the *Hermēneia* of Dionysios of Phournna, were occasionally recorded by hagiographers. The Life of Theodore of Stoudios attributed to his disciple Michael has one of the fuller descriptions: the saint was seen in a vision to be tall, sere, and pale in face, with grizzled hair and a balding head.⁶² Another version of the same vita adds that this was the saint's appearance in life.⁶³ As Doula Mouriki has shown, this portrait type, though schematic, was followed more or less faithfully by artists working in different styles, from the eleventh century to the post-Byzantine period (Fig. 17).⁶⁴

It was in physiognomic details, then, rather than in illusionistic modeling and perspective, that the "realism" of Byzantine portraiture resided for contemporary viewers.⁶⁵ This distinction is made clear by the story of St. Nikon Metanoeite. As we have seen, the vita makes an implied comparison between the image of the saint that was miraculously conveyed to the panel and the mandilion of Christ, which, according to the account of its translation in 944, was an image "without coloring or painter's art."⁶⁶ Nikon's miraculous image is described as a "formed likeness" (ἐκτυπωθεῖσα ἐμφέρεια), to which the painter "added the remaining colors" in order to finish the icon.⁶⁷ Other descriptions in the saints' lives of painters at work allow us to interpret this "formed likeness" as the preliminary drawing, or sketch, to which the colors were later applied by the artist. Andrew of Crete, for example, in his enkomion of Patapios says that painters skillfully color "the underlying shadowy outline" (τὸ ὑποκείμενον ἀποσχίσμα) with paints, putting on variegated colors so that the figures emerge alive and clear.⁶⁸ Thus, in the story of the icon of St. Nikon Metanoeite, the essential part of the portrait, the one that had to be miraculously transferred before the painter could proceed, was the drawn outline,

⁶²*BHG* 1754; ed. PG 99, col. 313A.

⁶³*BHG* 1755; ed. PG 99, col. 216C.

⁶⁴D. Mouriki, "The Portraits of Theodore Studites in Byzantine Art," *JÖB* 20 (1971), 249–80.

⁶⁵Ernst Kitzinger compared the process to the writing of the features on a flat "slate": "Some Reflections on Portraiture in Byzantine Art," *ZRVI* 8 (1963), 185–93, esp. 187. See also I. Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts* (Leiden, 1976), 254–55.

⁶⁶*Narratio de imagine Edessena*, 1; PG 113, col. 425A.

⁶⁷*BHG* 1366; ed. Sullivan, p. 154, chap. 44.44–46. The passage is discussed by M.-J. Baudinet, "Relation iconique à Byzance au IXe siècle," *Les études philosophiques* 1 (1978), 96–97.

⁶⁸*BHG* 1425; ed. PG 97, col. 1213C.

which recorded the saints' characteristic physiognomy; the rest of the design, the coloring, the modeling, and the background that enlivened the image (what the modern critic might call "the style"), could be left to the skills of the artist.⁶⁹

Even if the underdrawing was the essential part of the likeness, there is no implication in the Life of Nikon that the coloring provided by the painter was unnecessary. Except for the *acheiropoiētoi* of Christ, images without colors were not considered complete by the Byzantines. The incompleteness of the uncolored sketch, or shadow, as opposed to the finished image, was the basis for a common *topos* describing the relationship between the Old and New Testaments. The simile is most frequently encountered in patristic exegesis and iconodule polemic,⁷⁰ but it is also found in hagiography. For example, Ignatios the Deacon, in his Life of Patriarch Tarasios, says that Christ is announced by the word of truth, as if sketched in black by the servants of the Word, but is painted and circumscribed by the deed, as if through colors.⁷¹

III. THE SAINTS' LIVES ON ICON THEORY

Icons were to be found everywhere: a biography of Theodore of Stoudios attributed to Michael states that there is no such area, no such location, no such house where icons have not been set up in their brilliance.⁷² Surrounded by them constantly, the Byzantines were accustomed to seeing icons and to addressing them while in trouble. But how did they define the *εἰκὼν*? The problem was serious since the Byzantines had to distinguish between the icon and the idol. Christianity having at the very start rejected the veneration of idols, the sin of *eidōlolatreia* was condemned in hagiographical texts: thus Theodora, the pious servant of Basil the Younger, is said to have reached, in her ascent to heaven, the fifteenth *telōneion*, toll-station, where her soul was checked to find out whether

she had surrendered to the sin of *eidōlolatreia* and other heresies; it was a place at which not only idol-worshipers had to be stopped, but also their friends, who were evidently guilty by association.⁷³ As is well known, the problem of what is the icon, of its distinction from the idol, was raised in the eighth and ninth centuries, during the so-called Iconoclast dispute.

The Iconoclasts denied the cult of icons on both philosophical and theological grounds. Stephen the Deacon relates the discussion that Emperor Constantine V had with Stephen the Younger, when the emperor indicated a philosophical contradiction in the traditional teaching of the church: how is it possible, asked Constantine, to represent sensually (αἰσθητικῶς) and to venerate in material form (διὰ ὕλης) the beings that people proclaimed to be beyond experience (ἄπειρα), hard to observe (δυσθεώρητα), and impossible to be grasped by reason (μητε νῶ λεπτά. Read ληπτά?).⁷⁴ Constantine's statement is, in its core, a Kantian distinction between phenomena, accessible to our senses, and essences that we are unable to perceive. In no sense was Iconoclasm a prohibition of visual art—in the often-cited words of Stephen the Deacon, the Iconoclasts preserved and adorned the images of trees, birds, and animals, especially the Satanic horse races, hunts, "theaters" (probably circus scenes), and hippodromes.⁷⁵ What they denied was the link between the image (the idol) and the ineffable deity (Logos) or heavenly power (angels) or divine persons (the Virgin and saints). Ignatios, the author of the Vita of Patriarch Tarasios, speaks of the heretics who accused Christians of idolatry and rejected the icons of the incarnated true God Christ, of the Mother of God who truly brought him forth, of incorporeal powers, and of all the saints.⁷⁶ This "Kantian" approach implied the identification of the idol and the icon. Stephen the Deacon accuses the Iconoclasts of not distinguishing "between the holy and the defiled," of drawing no line between the images of Christ and Apollo, between the Virgin and Artemis.⁷⁷ The same argumentation is repeated in the Vita of Michael the Synkellos: the Iconoclasts

⁶⁹Sometimes the artists' skills could be deceptive. A Russian legend tells of a devil drawn on the board underneath a painted image of the Virgin. The true nature of the icon was only revealed when the Russian St. Basil the Blessed (16th century) smashed it with a rock; B. Uspensky, *The Semiotics of the Russian Icon* (Lisse, 1976), 28 note 52.

⁷⁰For references, see D. Sheerin, "Lines and Colors: Painting as Analogue to Typology in Greek Patristic Literature," *The 17th International Byzantine Congress, Abstracts of Short Papers* (Washington, D.C., 1986), 317–18.

⁷¹BHG 1698, p. 416.9–12.

⁷²BHG 1755; ed. PG 99, col. 177C. The modern literature on Byzantine image theory is very extensive. For a recent survey of the problems, see H. Belting, *Bild und Kult* (Munich, 1990), esp. 164–84.

⁷³BHG 263; ed. Veselovskij, *Sbornik* 46 (1889), supp., p. 30.28–30.

⁷⁴BHG 1666, col. 1157C; Metaphrastes (BHG 1667; ed. Iadevaia, p. 151.2066–67) reproduces this episode with a slight modification.

⁷⁵BHG 1666, col. 1113A.

⁷⁶BHG 1698; ed. I. A. Heikel, p. 397.20–23.

⁷⁷BHG 1666, col. 1157C. Metaphrastes (BHG 1667; ed. Iadevaia, p. 151) omits this argumentation.

called Christ's images idols like those of Apollo, the Virgin's icons idols like those of Artemis, and equated saints "to other false godheads."⁷⁸

The theological argumentation of the Iconoclasts was, or at least was perceived by their adversaries to be, a Docetist heresy; the enemies of icons believed, according to Gregory the biographer of Basil the Younger, that God did not become man actually (ἀληθεία) but only in imagination (φαντασία).⁷⁹ Therefore his representation as incarnate, in a human body, had no sense—the icon was soulless and dead.⁸⁰

Hagiography had as its goal the refutation of the Iconoclastic argument. The central issue of the refutation was the distinction between the idol and the icon. A miniature in the ninth-century Pantocrator Psalter (ms. 61, folio 165r) differentiates visually between idols and those images that God had commanded (Fig. 18). The painting provides a commentary on verses 12–15 of Psalm 113: "Their idols are silver and gold, the work of men's hands." It shows at the lower left Patriarch John the Grammarian gesturing toward two idols set on columns. In the center of the page, King David turns away from the patriarch, as if to reject the Iconoclasts' failure to distinguish between idols and icons. With his left hand David indicates an image of the temple, in the upper right portion of the page, together with its holy of holies, including the ark, the cherubim, and the sacred objects, which God had ordered to be made. Beseleel, the craftsman chosen by God to work in the temple, stands below, to the right of David. Here, then, David demonstrates the true interpretation of his psalm, proving that his text does not refer to *all* religious images, but only to idols.⁸¹

The distinction between icon and idol was often reiterated by the biographers of the saints. "O Christ," exclaims the hagiographer of Michael the Synkellos, "how could you endure that the icon of your appearance (μορφή), which you had assumed from the Holy Virgin, the Mother of God, for the purpose of our salvation, these people name an idol?"⁸² According to a vita of Theodore of Stoudios, the idol has a similarity (ἐμφέρεα) with the demon, which reflects the abomination of its pro-

totype; the archetype of the icon, on the other hand, is honorable, since it depicts God or a saint, and accordingly what is painted on the board is worth seeing. The idol, continues the hagiographer, is an image of falsity, the icon that of the truth.⁸³ The difference between the icon and the idol, says the hagiographer of Nicholas of Stoudios, is the same as that between Christ and Beliar.⁸⁴

The same contrast is brought out by Ignatios in his Vita of Patriarch Tarasios, which was written shortly after 842: the Iconoclast is insolent, since he confuses Zeus the impostor and the holy image of Christ.⁸⁵ The distinction, according to Ignatios, is largely one of substance: the idols possess malice (ἄγῃ) contrary to the pious (εὐαγῇ) images of the holy icons; the idols are as dirty and deformed as their prototypes, whereas the prototypes of icons are august (σεπτά). The idols are products of Hellenic impiety, the icons are the perfect objects (κατορθώματα) of Christian worship. Ignatios even appears to recognize—and reject—the rhetorical, emotive, and sensual aspects of Hellenistic art, when he describes the idols as "inventions formed anew out of what in no wise existed in any place, and enticing respect to themselves by means of their pathetic qualities (παθητικαῖς ποιότησι)."⁸⁶ This diatribe echoes the one hundredth canon of the Quinisext Council (692), which forbids "paintings, whether on boards or otherwise [i.e., reliefs] that bewitch the sight and corrupt the heart, arousing the combustion of disgraceful pleasures."⁸⁷

In another passage, which follows a description of images of the Crucifixion, Ignatios implies that too much *pathos* would be inappropriate in an icon of Christ: "having taken flesh of like substance to our own, in no way denying his Godhead . . .," he is painted and circumscribed in his works by painters "who do not blend what is simple and fleshless in substance with thick matter, nor is he curtailed and submitting to passion" (οὐδὲ γὰρ περιτέμνεται καὶ πάθος ὑφίσταται).⁸⁸ This statement seems to

⁷⁸ BHG 1296; IRAIK 11 (1906), p. 240.32–34.

⁷⁹ BHG 263; ed. Veselovskij, *Sbornik* 53 (1891), supp., p. 121.16–17.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 121.31; see also p. 123.15.

⁸¹ S. Dufrenne, "Une illustration 'historique', inconnue, du Psautier du Mont-Athos, Pantocrator No 61," *CahArch* 15 (1965), 83–95.

⁸² BHG 1296, p. 240.27–29.

⁸³ BHG 1755; ed. PG 99, col. 180AB.

⁸⁴ BHG 1365; ed. PG 105, col. 880B.

⁸⁵ BHG 1698; ed. Heikel, p. 417.1–2.

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 406.15–21. Nikephoros also accuses idols of representing what does not exist; *Antirrheticus* I, chap. 29 (ed. PG 100, col. 277B). See K. Parry, "Theodore Studites and the Patriarch Nicephoros on Image-Making as a Christian Imperative," *Byzantion* 59 (1989), 164–83.

⁸⁷ Mansi, XI, col. 986; on this passage, see Dagron, "Le culte des images" (above, note 30), 133–60, esp. 136.

⁸⁸ BHG 1698; ed. Heikel, p. 416.10–14.

reflect an ambivalence over images of the Crucifixion that is found also in ninth-century art. What type of Crucifixion scene would best reflect orthodox belief, that is, the union of the two natures on the cross, mortal and divine, passible and impassible? Should the crucified Christ be shown with his eyes open or shut, with his body upright or slumped, clothed or naked? During the half century after the end of Iconoclasm, all of these solutions were tried. In the miniature of the Crucifixion on folio 67r of the Chludov Psalter, for example, Christ is shown with his eyes open, while in the Crucifixion scenes on folios 45v and 72v his lids are closed.⁸⁹ On folio 98r of the ninth-century marginal psalter in the Pantocrator monastery on Mount Athos, the crucified Christ is shown with his head erect,⁹⁰ while in the miniatures of the Chludov Psalter it slumps to one side (but not to the same extent as that of the bad thief, shown on folio 45v of the same manuscript). In the miniature of the Pantocrator Psalter, Christ is naked save for a loincloth, as he is on folio 72v of the Chludov Psalter. However, on folios 45v and 67r of the Chludov Psalter, he wears the long robe, the colobium.

The most graphic ninth-century example of indecision over the form of the Crucifixion is to be found on folio 30v of the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus in Paris, ms. gr. 510 (Fig. 19). In the underdrawing for this miniature, Christ was portrayed hanging naked from the cross, save for a loincloth; but in the finished version the artist overpainted his body with a purple colobium.⁹¹ Whoever had the original image changed cannot have objected to the underdrawing as an illustration of the death of Christ in and of itself, for the Deposition and Burial are still depicted on the same page of the manuscript (Fig. 19).⁹² The objection evidently was to Christ's nakedness. The effect of the colobium, in paintings of the Crucifixion, was to flatten Christ's body, to make it, in the words of Ignatius, "simple and fleshless in substance"; this can be seen most clearly in a famous eighth-century icon from the collection at Mount

Sinai, where the strongly modeled torso of the naked thief on the left contrasts strikingly with the thinly painted robe of Christ (Fig. 20). Perhaps, also, with the Iconoclastic dispute still a living memory at the time that the Paris Gregory was painted, the naked body of Christ was still too redolent of idolatry. In Byzantine art, idols, such as those depicted in the ninth-century Chludov and Pantocrator Psalters, were characteristically shown either nude or semi-nude (Figs. 18, 21).⁹³ On the other hand, the relationship between the image of the crucified Christ and idols had been seen by some writers in a more positive light. Agathangelos, the author of the Armenian Vita of St. Gregory the Illuminator, argued that Christ made himself a dead image on the cross to draw men away from the worship of idols. This passage was cited, from the Greek version of the Life, by several Iconodule texts.⁹⁴

During the tenth century, the iconography of Christ naked upon the cross, with his eyes closed and his head inclined, became standard in Byzantine art.⁹⁵ The eventual acceptance of the naked, or more precisely near-naked, image of the suffering Christ in art has an interesting literary parallel in a hymn by the monk Symeon the Theologian, composed around the year 1000, which attempts a distinction between nakedness and *pathos*; nakedness, says Symeon, is not in itself shameful, because Christ "became entirely man, even he who was entirely God." "Each of our members will be the entire Christ," even including the *pudenda*. The nakedness of the saints is "immobile, innocent, and without passion (ἀπαθής)"; the nakedness of those who touch flesh to flesh is a blasphemy against Christ, who gave lack of passion (ἀπάθεια) to his servants.⁹⁶

The second point of the Iconodule theory of icons is that the icon itself is not the object of veneration, but its prototype (or archetype) is. This idea, expressed already by Basil the Great, was re-

⁸⁹ Moscow, Historical Museum, ms. add. gr. 129; M. V. Ščepkina, *Miniatjura Chludovskoj Psaltyri* (Moscow, 1977). On the iconography of the dead Christ on the cross, see, most recently, Belting, *Bild und Kult*, esp. 137, 301–4.

⁹⁰ Ms. 61; J. R. Martin, "The Dead Christ on the Cross in Byzantine Art," in *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.*, ed. K. Weitzmann (Princeton, 1955), 189–96, esp. 190, fig. 4.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 191.

⁹² A. Kartsonis, *Anastasis: The Making of an Image* (Princeton, 1986), 143.

⁹³ Dufrenne, "Une illustration 'historique,'" 83–85, figs. 1–2. On the depictions of idols in Byzantine art, see N. P. Ševčenko, *The Life of Saint Nicholas in Byzantine Art* (Turin, 1983), 131–33, with earlier bibliography.

⁹⁴ G. Lafontaine, ed., *La version grecque ancienne du livre arménien d'Agathange: Édition critique* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1973), 202, 1–13. See S. Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Constantine V*, CSCO 384 (Louvain, 1977), 98–99 note 147. We wish to thank Prof. Gero for this reference.

⁹⁵ An early dated example is the Crucifixion in the main apse of the New Church at Tokalı Kilise, painted before 969; A. W. Epstein, *Tokalı Kilise: Tenth-Century Metropolitan Art in Byzantine Cappadocia* (Washington, D.C., 1986), 73, figs. 83–87.

⁹⁶ Hymn 15, ed. J. Koder and J. Paramelle, SC 156 (Paris, 1969), pp. 290.157–294.219.

peated by the Iconodules again and again.⁹⁷ Among the hagiographers, we may cite the author of the Vita of Theophylaktos of Nikomedia, who characteristically compares the worship of the icon with the respect paid to the emperor's image: those who dare to cast contempt on the portrait of the emperor will be punished, and those who discard the icon of the demiurge of the entire world deserve a greater castigation.⁹⁸ Through the icon the believer ascends to the prototype and achieves salvation—the author of the Vita of Theodore of Stoudios formulates it categorically: “Had we denied the veneration of holy icons, our faith would have been empty, our message (κήρυγμα) meaningless.” This denial, he continues, would have ruined all (good) deeds, all virtue, all knowledge of the divine.⁹⁹ The icon is a door (θύρα), proclaims the author of the Vita of Stephen the Younger, which leads our reason made in God's likeness (Gen. 1:26) to the inner resemblance of the prototype.¹⁰⁰ Metaphrastes preserves this image,¹⁰¹ and in the Vita of Theodore Graptos he also links icon worship with the idea of salvation: the devil, says he, prohibits the veneration of the divine image of Christ in order to make us forget his incarnation and to deprive us of “the saving desire.”¹⁰²

According to the Vita of Andrew “in Crisi,” as a tool of salvation the icon had its beauty (κάλλος) not in form (σχῆμα) nor in shining colors but in the “ineffable blissfulness of represented virtue.”¹⁰³ We venerate, says the hagiographer of Basil the Younger, not material paints but the image (μορφή) of God and of saints represented by material paints.¹⁰⁴ The Vita of Gregory of Dekapolis states that not the painting itself is the subject of reverence but the divine or virtuous images revealed in the icon “by relationship” (σχετικῶς).¹⁰⁵

John Merkouropoulos dwells in detail on the treatise written by John of Damascus in defense of the cult of icons. This treatise, according to Merkouropoulos, consisted of two volumes. In the first volume John categorized the icons or divided them

into two kinds (it is, probably, better to say that John analyzed two meanings of the word εἰκόν): some of them had to be perceived “by way of worship” (λατρευτικῶς), others “by relationship” only. As the example of the former, Merkouropoulos cites the cult of the Son as the *eikōn* of the invisible God; the latter are the icons of holy persons, such as Abraham and Isaac. The second volume of John's treatise was devoted to the tradition of icon worship beginning with biblical patriarchs and prophets.¹⁰⁶

Thus we can summarize the principles of Iconodule aesthetics as represented in the saints' lives: the real value of the image consists of its inner essence, its spiritual beauty, its relationship with the divine prototype, and not its accidental qualities—the forms and the colors. The work of art has no life in its own right; it reflects the more profound world of truth and in such a capacity makes the beholder better. Nikephoros the “Philosopher,” the biographer of Patriarch Anthony Kauleas, expressed this principle in his “definition” of his hero: Anthony was, says he, an icon of virtue, a monument (στήλη) of manliness, a statue (ἄγαλμα) of chastity.¹⁰⁷ Icons, stelai, statues—Nikephoros perceived all of them as reflections of abstract qualities, of “essences” disconnected from aesthetic categories.

IV. THE SOCIAL FUNCTION OF IMAGES

Recently, modern scholars have increasingly turned their attention from the formal and aesthetic qualities of Byzantine art to its social functions, an area of research in which the lives and enkoma of the saints play a prominent part.¹⁰⁸ We would like, in this section of our paper, to add a few further references and observations which bear on the social role of images, and which may still be unfamiliar to art historians.

The image was, in the hagiographer's perception, not only beautiful but also useful. The author of a vita of Theodore of Stoudios mentions a certain Luke who attentively studied the Holy Gospel and, taking it as his basis, composed an icon of the Lord, an honorable work which he left for poster-

⁹⁷ E.g., Mansi, XIII, col. 69.

⁹⁸ BHG 2451, p. 79.25–31.

⁹⁹ BHG 1755; ed. PG 99, col. 173B.

¹⁰⁰ BHG 1666; ed. PG 100, col. 1113A.

¹⁰¹ BHG 1667; ed. Iadevaia, p. 98.785–86.

¹⁰² BHG 1746, col. 661A.

¹⁰³ BHG 111; ActaSS, Oct. VIII (1953), col. 139B: τὸ γὰρ αὐτῆς θεῖον κάλλος, οὐ σχήματι τινι καὶ μορφῆς εὐχροΐα διαγλαΐζεται, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀφράστῳ μακαριότητι κατὰ ἄρετην θεωρεῖται.

¹⁰⁴ BHG 263; ed. Veselovskij, *Sbornik* 53 (1891), supp., p. 124.19–21.

¹⁰⁵ BHG 711; ed. F. Dvornik, p. 69.20–24.

¹⁰⁶ BHG 395, p. 319.1–10.

¹⁰⁷ BHG 139, p. 12.31.

¹⁰⁸ See, especially, the pioneering article by Dagron, “Le culte des images” (above, note 30). Two important recent studies make extensive use of saints' lives: Cormack, *Writing in Gold* (above, note 35a), and Connor, *The Crypt at Hosios Loukas* (above, note 12).

ity;¹⁰⁹ the word he uses to designate “composition,” ἱστορήσας, means “to narrate,” and this narration had an extra-aesthetic, social function—it had to exercise an impact on people. Even more explicitly, the same idea is expressed in the *Vita* of Stephen the Younger, where the hagiographer, Stephen the Deacon, emphasizes the impact of images on distinct social groups: he relates that in “a public place,” in the *Milion*, there were paintings of six ecumenical councils which “announced the orthodox creed to peasants (ἄγροῖκοις), foreigners, and private (ιδιώταις, ed. ἰδίους) citizens.”¹¹⁰

More specifically, the social function of images is stressed in John Mauropous’ speech on the festival in Euchaita devoted to St. Theodore. According to Mauropous, the festival at Euchaita was dedicated to Theodore the Foot Soldier, or “Recruit”; the writer opposes the image of the infantryman in the church to “those mounted and brilliant and covered with gold.” “Our” pedestrian Theodore, he stresses, has no arrogance or haughtiness, and his exploits demonstrate the might of the feeble and the greatness of the small. Therefore “the poor (πτωχός) and pedestrian and numerous men” pour in from all the regions to glorify Theodore, since they can more easily rely on and approach the divine martyr thus represented as one who is closer (οἰκειότερος) to them. Certainly, St. Theodore in Euchaita was not the holy man of the poor and humble exclusively: “many a rider,” says Mauropous, “(it would be close to the truth to say all of them) looks at him with the utmost attention and renders due respect.”¹¹¹ Nevertheless, the “pedestrian” Theodore was predominantly the saint of the poor: Mauropous returns again to this detail while asserting that the feeble (πένητες) who had gathered in Euchaita did not stay aloof from the service and expenses.¹¹²

This characterization of St. Theodore the Foot Soldier as a man who was “closer” to the poor raises the question of whether such a portrait existed also in art. In the pre-Iconoclastic icons, which, like the hagiography of that period, do not distinguish between two Saints Theodore,¹¹³ he is depicted either in silks or in embossed golden ar-

mor—both indicative of high status.¹¹⁴ In the post-Iconoclastic period, Theodore the Foot Soldier and his more socially elevated namesake, Theodore Stratelates, the general, were frequently portrayed standing side by side. It is noteworthy that in many of the images of the tenth and eleventh centuries it is hard to discern a difference between the two Theodores in the richness or poverty of their attire. We may take as an example the Harbaville Triptych in Paris, a work possibly of the mid-eleventh century.¹¹⁵ In the upper section of the lefthand wing of this ivory, the two standing saints, each clearly identified by an inscription, can be seen turning toward each other; the military costumes in which they are dressed are almost identical.¹¹⁶ However, in some later works of art there may be a suggestion of greater difference in their ranks. In the fresco on the south wall of the church of the Anargyroi at Kastoria, the two Theodores again stand side by side (Fig. 14); the general, on the left, is clad in a cuirass, brilliant and covered with gold, while the foot soldier, on the right, wears only a gray chain mail over which a sash has been tied.¹¹⁷ A similar distinction between the two saints was made in the early fourteenth-century frescoes of the Parekklesion attached to the Kariye Camii in Constantinople. St. Theodore Stratelates is resplendent in an articulated bronze cuirass, which is topped by a high metal collar of bronze or gold and crossed by two diagonal bands of iron joining in the center under a diamond-shaped boss (Fig. 16). By contrast, the costume of Theodore the Foot Soldier is subdued (Fig. 15). His armor is concealed by a white sleeveless tunic; the cuirass itself, from what can be seen of it under the surcoat, is a very dark brown, as if made of leather. The collar around his neck is narrow and inconspicuous compared to that of his higher-ranking colleague (Fig. 16).¹¹⁸ It seems, then, that the characterization of Theodore the Foot Soldier as a man who was “closer” to the poor was indeed eventually made in art, although the surviving examples are later in date than the oration of John Mauropous.

¹¹⁴K. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Icons* (Princeton, 1976), 18–21, 36–37, pls. 4, 6, 15.

¹¹⁵A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X.–XIII. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1934), 34, pl. 13.

¹¹⁶It should be noted, however, that on some Middle Byzantine ivories the attributes and costumes of the two saints are different. Thus, on the triptych in the Palazzo di Venezia at Rome, Theodore Stratelates has a sword, while Theodore Teron does not; *ibid.*, 33, pl. 31.

¹¹⁷Pelekianides, *Kastoria*, I, pl. 21a.

¹¹⁸Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, I, 255–56; III, pls. 494–97.

¹⁰⁹BHG 1755; ed. PG 99, col. 177C.

¹¹⁰BHG 1666; ed. PG 100, col. 1172A. The sentence was omitted in Metaphrastes’ version of the *Vita*: BHG 1667; ed. Iadevaia, p. 170.

¹¹¹BHG 1772; ed. Lagarde (above, note 14), p. 208.17–28.

¹¹²*Ibid.*, p. 209.9–11.

¹¹³Oikonomides, “Le dédoublement de Saint Théodore” (above, note 57).

Images had not only a social but also a practical function: they could be helpful in a person's plight, especially in the case of sickness. Cures could be effected through a variety of mechanisms. For example, an image could be made of the diseased part of the body. We are told that a certain Menas, when he fell sick, came to the church of Sts. Damianos and Kosmas in Blachernae and painted an icon, drawing on it "the type of his ailment" and asked for a cure.¹¹⁹ The striking feature of this story is that the image of the affected part was made *before* the miracle was accomplished, instead of after the event as a thank offering. The latter practice, which survives to this day, is attested during the late Roman period by Theodoret of Kyrrhos, who writes of those who come to the martyrs to seek their aid as intercessors: "that those who request in faith obtain what they ask for is witnessed visibly by their votive offerings displaying their cure. For some bring images (ἐκτυπώματα) of eyes, others of feet, others of hands. And some are made of gold, others of wood."¹²⁰ However, a group of small silver reliefs of eyes found in northern Syria suggests that such offerings could have been made both in anticipation of the cure and as a consequence of it, for some are inscribed with the words "in fulfillment of a vow,"¹²¹ while on others is written, "Lord help, amen," as if the healing were yet to come (Fig. 22).¹²²

Another means by which images could cure was by giving the suppliant access to the power of a miracle-working saint. One of the most remarkable miracles is described in a vita of John of Damascus. The ruler of Damascus accused John of treason and ordered his hand (or arm) to be cut off. After this amputation, John came into a chapel and prayed before "a divine icon bearing the face of the Mother of God." He fell asleep and saw in his dream the icon of the Virgin promising him healing, and, indeed, when he woke up the hand was fixed "in the previous harmony."¹²³ John Mer-

kouropoulos, while reworking this legend in the twelfth century, reinforced the miracle, since he made Kosmas, John's adopted brother, see how the "picture of the icon" (γραφὴ τῆς εἰκόνης) stepped from the wood and cured the sleeping John. The panel, Merkouropoulos adds, remained deprived of the image (ἄγραφος).¹²⁴

The Life of St. Nikon Metanoieite tells the story of a certain Prokopios, who lived in a metochion of St. Nikon's monastery and who suffered from cataract. Scorning recourse to any "human skill" (ἄνθρωπινῃ τέχνῃ), he placed himself before the icon of Nikon "in the sacred oratory in the Metochion that was dedicated in the name of the saint," and raised his hands in prayer. He slept there, and was rewarded with a vision, from which he awoke cured.¹²⁵ The text concludes: "How wondrous you are, O God, in your holy men."¹²⁶ Another story from the Life of St. Nikon reiterates this last point, that the saint is a channel for the healing power of God, and also shows how the same idea could be expressed through the arrangement of images in a church.¹²⁷ The biographer tells us that a young boy named Luke was afflicted with paralysis of the jaw. He first prayed to the icon of Nikon which "hung before the inner sanctuary of the holy precinct of the monastery," where he was living as a novice—the monastery itself was dedicated to St. Nicholas. After his supplication he fell asleep, and imagined that he was transported "in thought to the holy and sacred house (οἶκος) of the blessed one [i.e., Nikon], and with the wings of faith touches the coffin (σορός) itself with his lips." He then called upon the saint, whereupon: "in his sleep he seemed to find himself upon the very ascent of the holy and sacred house of the saint by the west stairway (ἐν αὐτῇ . . . τῇ διὰ τῆς δυτικῆς κλίμακος ἀναβάσει τοῦ θείου καὶ ἱεροῦ οἴκου). There the commanding and divine icon bearing the name of [Christ] Antiphonetes is situated, and also the image of the great one is figured" (ἐκτετύπωτο).¹²⁸ Responding to instructions which seemed to issue from the icon of Nikon itself, Luke anointed himself with oil from the lamp that hung before it. When he awoke he was fully cured. The biographer concludes: "This extraordinary miracle testified even more to the saint's access to God" (πρὸς Θεὸν παρησια).¹²⁹

¹¹⁹ BHG 373b, Mir. 20, pp. 49.24–50.1.

¹²⁰ *Graecarum affectionum curatio*, ed. J. Raeder (Leipzig, 1904), p. 217.14–19, bk. 8.64. A painting presented in gratitude for a cure is mentioned in the Life of Theodore of Sykeon; it was placed in a chapel in the church of the Archangel by a cleric, Solomon, and his wife, whom the saint had cured of evil spirits. BHG 1748; ed. Festugière, I, par. 103.5–7. See Cormack, *Writing in Gold*, 35. See also the texts cited by Dagron, "Le culte des images" (above, note 30), esp. 144–45.

¹²¹ G. Vikan, "Art, Medicine, and Magic in Early Byzantium," *DOP* 38 (1984), 65–86, esp. 66–67, fig. 1.

¹²² G. Vikan, *Byzantine Pilgrimage Art* (Washington, D.C., 1982), 45–46, fig. 38.

¹²³ BHG 884; ed. PG 94, col. 457A–C. On the concept of the speaking icon, see R. S. Nelson, "The Discourse of Icons, Then and Now," *Art History* 12.2 (1989), 144–57.

¹²⁴ BHG 395, pp. 324.16–325.17.

¹²⁵ BHG 1366; ed. Sullivan, pp. 218–22, chap. 64.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 222, chap. 64.40–41.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 212–18, chap. 63.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 216, chap. 63.45–56.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 216–18, chap. 63.70–72.

This story contains several points of interest for the historian of Byzantine art. First, it shows that not all icons of the same saint were equal. The suppliant prayed to the image of Nikon in his own monastery, but for the cure to be accomplished he had to be transported in a vision to a more effective icon, the one in the saint's monastery (of which the biographer happened to be the superior). It is also noteworthy that the account of the miracle describes the suppliant's visit to the shrine in two phases. First, the afflicted person went to the coffin containing the *relics* of the saint, and touched it with his lips. Second, he revered the saint's *image*, which in this case was evidently placed on an upper level, reached by stairs. Although the shrine of Nikon is no longer standing,¹³⁰ the same physical division between the saint's tomb and his image, on two separate levels, can still be observed in the Katholikon of Hosios Loukas, the shrine of St. Luke Steiriotēs, who died in 953, some time before St. Nikon. The tomb and relics of St. Luke were located on the lower level of his church, in the north arm of the crypt; we know from his Life that his tomb, with its associated oil, was the focus of a healing cult.¹³¹ On a higher level, directly above the saint's tomb, was the largest and most conspicuous of his images in the church, a mosaic portrait filling the western lunette beneath the vault over the north arm of the naos (Fig. 33). This mosaic was also associated with the saint's cult, for directly opposite it a small shrine, or *proskynetarion*, in the form of a four-columned baldachin, was inserted beneath an arched opening in the eastern wall of the north arm. The *proskynetarion* sheltered a small trough, which may have contained water, or perhaps myrrh, from the saint's tomb.¹³²

¹³⁰ An excavation by G. A. Soteriou revealed a cruciform structure standing to the west of a basilican church on the acropolis of Sparta; it contained a tomb and was flanked by stairwells on its southeast and southwest sides; "Anaskaphai en te palaia Sparte," *Πρακτ. Ἀρχ. Ἑτ.* (1939), 107–18, esp. 116 and plan. Soteriou claimed that this was the shrine of St. Nikon. Although there are striking parallels between the information given in the life and the fittings and design of the cruciform structure, this identification has been challenged, most recently by P. Vokotopoulos, "Paratereseis sten legomene basilike tou Hagiou Nikonos," *Praktika tou 1. Diethnous Synedriou Peleponnesiakou Spoudon*, II (Athens, 1976–78), 273–85.

¹³¹ Connor, *The Crypt at Hosios Loukas*, 62–88.

¹³² Stikas, *To oikodomikon chronikon*, 248–58, figs. 130–34, arguing that this *proskynetarion* postdates the construction of the church. According to J. Spon and G. Wheler, who visited the monastery in the 17th century, this area of the Katholikon was at that time the focus of the healing cult: "L'espace d'entre ces deux églises [the Panagia and the Katholikon] est une chambre couverte, où ils font porter leurs malades, qui y guérissent, disent-ils, miraculeusement"; *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce, et du Levant, fait aux années 1675 & 1676*, II (Amsterdam, 1679), 59–60. See Stikas, *op. cit.*, 190–91.

Another point of interest in the story of Nikon's healing of the boy concerns the juxtaposition of images. The text tells us that the icon of Nikon in his own shrine was placed near an icon of Christ "Antiphonetes." This association of images was a visual witness to the intimacy of the saint with God.

The label of "Antiphonetes" is found attached to several surviving eleventh- and twelfth-century images, which probably reproduced an icon at the Chalkoprataia. In all these early copies Christ holds a book in his left hand and makes a distinctive blessing gesture of his right hand, which he raises in a vertical position with the ring finger bent to join the thumb and with the other three fingers extended (Figs. 24, 26). In the original legend concerning the icon, "Antiphonetes" had the meaning of "bondsman,"¹³³ but later copies of the icon suggest that its primary role became responsive.¹³⁴ Psellos tells a story of Empress Zoe, who had an image of Christ Antiphonetes made for her. She would speak to it, either thanking it for favors or trying to propitiate it in the case of misfortune; the icon would answer her by changing color, becoming red for a favorable and pale for an unfavorable reply.¹³⁵ Psellos' tale can be related to the appearance of an image of Christ with the inscription "Antiphonetes" on certain coins struck by Zoe (histamenon of 1041/2).¹³⁶ The other labeled copy of the Antiphonetes that is known from the eleventh century is a mosaic on the righthand pier flanking the sanctuary in the church of the Koimesis at Nicaea, which dated probably to shortly after 1065, but is now destroyed (Fig. 24).¹³⁷ This copy of the Antiphonetes was paired with a mosaic of the Virgin with Child, labeled "Eleousa" ("compassionate"), on the lefthand pier (Fig. 23).¹³⁸ A similar arrangement is preserved by the frescoes in the church of Panagia tou Arakou at Lagoudera on Cyprus, where the figure of Christ labeled "Antiphonetes," on the righthand pier of the sanctuary

¹³³ C. Mango, *The Brazen House*, Arkæologisk-kunsthistoriske Meddelelser, Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, 4.4 (Copenhagen, 1959), 142.

¹³⁴ On the later examples of the Antiphonetes, see Z. Rasolkoska-Nikolovska, "Le Christ Antiphonitis d'après les monuments à Chypre," *Praktika tou 2. Diethnous Kyprologikou Synedriou*, II (Nicosia, 1986), 523–27.

¹³⁵ *Chronographia*, ed. É. Renauld, I (Paris, 1967), p. 149, chap. 66.

¹³⁶ P. Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, III.1 (Washington, D.C., 1973), 162; *ibid.*, III.2, p. 729, pl. 58.

¹³⁷ T. Schmit, *Die Koimesis-Kirche von Nikaia* (Berlin, 1927), 46–47, pl. 27. On the date, see C. Mango, "The Date of the Narthex Mosaics of the Church of the Dormition at Nicaea," *DOP* 13 (1959), 245–52, esp. 252.

¹³⁸ Schmit, *op. cit.*, 44–46, pl. 25.

(Fig. 26), responds to a standing Virgin "Eleousa" on the left (Fig. 25).¹³⁹ In this case, the Virgin holds a long scroll recording her supplications on behalf of mortals, and her Son's responses thereto.¹⁴⁰

Once again, the information given in the Life of St. Nikon about the lost decoration of his shrine can be related to the existing mosaics in the Katholikon of Hosios Loukas, especially to the arrangement of subjects in the two crossarms of the church.¹⁴¹ In the eastern quadrant of the cross vault over the lower storey of the south arm there is a medallion bearing a bust-length figure of Christ, flanked by two angels, Uriel and Raphael, who appear in the north and south quadrants respectively (Fig. 27). Christ is depicted in the same form as the labeled copies of the "Antiphonetes" of the eleventh and twelfth centuries; that is, he holds a book in his left hand, and with his right makes the characteristic gesture of joining the ring finger with the thumb, and raising the other three fingers vertically (Fig. 28). In the lunette immediately beneath this image, on the east wall of the south arm, is a mosaic of the Virgin holding the Child in one arm and turning her head toward him (Fig. 29)—an image similar to the Virgin "Eleousa" that supplicated the Christ "Antiphonetes" at Nicaea (Fig. 23). On the facing wall, opposite the Virgin, is a mosaic depicting a doctor saint, to be identified as Panteleimon, although the inscription has been renewed (Fig. 30). A similar arrangement of images can be seen in the lower level of the north arm of the naos. Once again the eastern lunette is occupied by an image of the Virgin, of the same type as the one in the south arm, but facing in the opposite direction, for reasons of symmetry (Fig. 32). Another image of Christ appears in the medallion of the vault immediately above her, except that here Christ makes a slightly different gesture with his right hand, bending the little, the ring, and the middle fingers to join the thumb, while the index finger is slightly raised (Fig. 31).^{141a} The flanking archangels here are Michael and Gabriel, rather than the lower-ranking Raphael and Uriel. The image facing the Virgin on the west wall is not St. Panteleimon, but, as we have already seen, the portrait of another healer, St. Luke Stei-

riotes, the founder of the monastery (Fig. 33). It will be remembered that the saint's relics, with their associated oil, were the center of a cult in the north arm of the crypt, directly beneath the miracle-worker's portrait in mosaic, and that there was, in addition, a shrine to the saint built into the archway facing his image. In light of the text concerning the icon of St. Nikon, it is possible to see the logic connecting these images in the north and south arms of the church: each of the two healing saints, Luke and Panteleimon, is associated with Christ and with an intercessory image of the Virgin and Child, as a visual demonstration of their "access to God," and thus of their effectiveness. Since St. Luke is accompanied by the higher-ranking archangels, he is shown to stand closer to God than Panteleimon.

A common theme in saints' lives was the uselessness and cost of physical medicine, in contrast to the spiritual medicine of the saints' prayers.¹⁴² In the Life of Nikon we are told, for example, of a "strategos" who was smitten with paralysis: in spite of the best care from the doctors, his hopes of finding a cure from them proved to be vain. Only when the official fell at the feet of Nikon "and sought the saint's prayer as a kind of medicine allaying pain and capable of easily removing all suffering," did the man's condition improve. "By prayer alone," the saint healed him, says the biographer.¹⁴³ The same theme appears repeatedly in the Life of St. Luke: first the sufferer turns to the doctors, only to see his finances shrink while his disease grows; finally the patient turns to the prayers of the saint.¹⁴⁴ The effectiveness of prayer on its own as medicine was also demonstrated in art. For example, in the mosaics in the Katholikon of Hosios Loukas, on the west wall of the south arm, St. Panteleimon holds a surgeon's scalpel and a box of medical instruments (Fig. 30). St. Luke, on the other hand, in the corresponding position on the west wall of the north arm, raises his two empty hands in prayer (Fig. 33), just as he is described doing in his vita when he performs a miracle ("raising his hands up on high, he prayed").¹⁴⁵ The juxtaposition makes the point stressed by the biographer of Nikon: the saint's prayer is a kind of medicine. This message is reinforced by the mo-

¹³⁹ Stylianou, *Painted Churches* (above, note 24), 170, fig. 101.

¹⁴⁰ Rasolkoska-Nikolovska, "Le Christ Antiphonitis," 524.

¹⁴¹ Good photographs can be found in Stikas, *To oikodomikon chronikon*, pls. 63–72.

^{141a} This image is of a type to which the label "Pantocrator" was applied by the mid-12th century. See Jane Timken Matthews, *The Pantocrator: Title and Image*, Ph.D. dissertation (New York University, 1976), 31–32, 38, 88.

¹⁴² A. Kazhdan, "The Image of the Medical Doctor in Byzantine Literature of the Tenth to Twelfth Centuries," *DOP* 38 (1984), 43–51, esp. 45–48.

¹⁴³ *BHG* 1366; ed. Sullivan, pp. 134–40, chap. 39.

¹⁴⁴ *BHG* 994; ed. E. Martini, pp. 106–7 (chap. 62), 117–19 (chaps. 85–86).

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 102.12, chap. 48.

saics in the vault above St. Luke. The eastern quadrant of the vault, as we have seen, held an image of Christ, with the archangels Michael and Gabriel flanking him in the north and south quadrants. But in the western quadrant, immediately above the saint, is "James the Brother of the Lord" (Fig. 31). His presence here is a reference to the Epistle of James 5:13–16: "Is anyone among you in trouble? . . . He should send for the elders of the congregation to pray over him and anoint him with oil in the name of the Lord. The prayer offered in faith will save the sick man, the Lord will raise him from his bed, and any sins he may have committed will be forgiven. . . . A good man's prayer is powerful and effective." This passage was cited by Symeon Metaphrastes at the end of his life of St. James the Brother of the Lord.¹⁴⁶ Appropriately, the mosaic portrait of St. Nikon on the west wall of the naos of the Katholikon at Hosios Loukas also depicts the saint in the orant position (Fig. 1).

One last observation may be made here concerning the mosaics in the vault over the south arm of the katholikon. As we have seen, the eastern quadrant frames a bust of Christ, while the north and south quadrants contain angels. The west quadrant, however, over the image of Panteleimon, contains a bust of Zacharias holding a pyxis (Fig. 27). Once again, the choice of this particular saint may be connected with the supernatural effectiveness of prayer, for, as Theodore of Stoudios pointed out in a sermon on the birth of John the Baptist, that nativity came about "not through the natural sequence [of events], but by the success of prayer."¹⁴⁷

The Vita of Stephen Sabaites contains an account of a miraculous healing which gives a curious, reverse twist to the stories about icons that have been cited above. In this case a cure was effected not by contact with but by abstinence from images. A certain Leontios suffered from demonic assaults; Stephen promised him release if Leontios would for a while stop partaking of holy communion or looking at icons, and then, on an appointed day, would once again partake of the divine bread and in his sincerity "embrace" holy icons.¹⁴⁸

When cures were no longer in prospect, and the hour of death approached, then, too, images had a role to play. The eleventh-century Life of Laza-

rus Galesiotes tells of an old monk named Nikon (not the wonder-worker of Sparta) who, knowing that he was about to die, lay down in the refectory "in the place in which there are holy images of the Theotokos and of the archangel Michael stretching out [their arms] in supplication (εἰς δέησιν) to the Savior, and quietly surrendered his soul to God through the hands of the angels."¹⁴⁹

Images could help in birth as well as in death. A case of an icon playing a role in promoting fertility is found in the Life of St. Stephen the Younger. When St. Stephen's mother wished for a son, she visited the icon in the church of the Blachernae that showed the Virgin holding her own Son in her arms. After standing in front of this icon and beseeching it with tears, she was, as we have seen, rewarded with a vision of the Virgin, who appeared to her "in the same form as in her icon." Striking the woman in her loins, the Virgin promised her that she would have a son. The hagiographer explained: "By such means, she who in a maternal way most swiftly moves her Son's pity (ἐλεον) to the succor of our race, transformed the despondent woman into a contented mother."¹⁵⁰

The supernatural powers of icons were not only beneficent and healing; on occasion icons could be hostile, especially when they were under attack. The story of the image of St. George that returned the Saracen's missile has already been cited.¹⁵¹ The defensive powers of icons became particularly evident during the Iconoclastic persecutions when the enemies of icon worship tried to destroy holy images and, according to orthodox legend, failed. The collection of stories about miracles worked by various icons of the Virgin is particularly rich in cases of the icons putting up a miraculous resistance: stonecutters could not demolish the holy image (ἀπεικόνισμα),¹⁵² and when a certain Leo dared to strike the icon with a sword, blood gushed from the Virgin's breast, so that Leo, ashamed and afraid, fell to the ground and died in three days.¹⁵³ The same icon had been thrown into the sea in Constantinople by Patriarch Germanos I when he was pursued by Leo III, and with incredible speed it crossed the sea and reappeared in Rome;¹⁵⁴ this

¹⁴⁶ *BHG* 764; ed. PG 115, col. 208D.

¹⁴⁷ PG 99, col. 753A.

¹⁴⁸ *BHG* 1670, col. 552B.

¹⁴⁹ *BHG*, 979; *Acta SS*, Nov. III (1910), col. 560E, cited by A. Cutler, "Under the Sign of the Deësis: On the Question of Representativeness in Medieval Art and Literature," *DOP* 41 (1987), 145–54, esp. 147.

¹⁵⁰ *BHG*, 1666, col. 1076B–D.

¹⁵¹ Above, note 20.

¹⁵² *BHG* 1066, p. 195.16–20.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 198 f.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 196–98.

legend was retold in the Vita of Patriarch Germanos, but in relation to an icon of Christ.¹⁵⁵ According to the accounts of Russian travelers to Constantinople, they saw there an icon of Christ which was said to have made the sea-crossing to Rome in the time of Germanos, and to have returned in one day.¹⁵⁶ Other wounded icons could be seen by visitors to the capital: for example, there was an icon of Christ that had been stabbed by a Jew, which, together with its blood, was visible in St. Sophia.¹⁵⁷

One final function of the image that is mentioned in the saints' lives is that of validating the miracles of a wonder-working saint—an important matter for the keepers of the shrine. Archbishop John of Thessaloniki, a hagiographer of St. Demetrios, while concluding the First Miracle of the saint—the healing of the eparch Marianos—refers those who would suspect his trustworthiness to the mosaics on the wall of the church facing the city stadium; these mosaics contained the “description” (γραφή) of the entire story.¹⁵⁸ The passage has been used to solve the problem of the location of the stadium;¹⁵⁹ for our purpose, however, the evidence is important since it shows that images dedicated to saints' lives could be exhibited outside shrines, as later Andronikos I would locate his political placards. A somewhat similar passage is found in another seventh-century life, that of St. Spyridon. The author, Theodore of Paphos, refers to a scene of Spyridon overturning the idols in Alexandria, which was painted on the saint's basilica on Cyprus, above its central door. Theodore says that when he first declaimed the Life of St. Spyridon in the church, his audience was skeptical of the episode concerning the idols, having not heard it before. However, some of them soon associated the story with the painting on the church, so that at the same time the vita was confirmed and the meaning of the image, which had hitherto been unknown, was revealed.¹⁶⁰ In this case text and image reinforced each other.

¹⁵⁵ BHG 697; ed. L. Lamza, *Patriarch Germanos I. von Konstantinopel (715–730)*, Das östliche Christentum, N.F. 27 (Würzburg, 1975), 232–34.

¹⁵⁶ G. P. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Washington, D.C., 1984), 139, 179.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 138–39, 224–25.

¹⁵⁸ BHG 500; ed. Lemerle, I, p. 67.14–17. See the comments on this passage by Cormack, *Writing in Gold*, 76, 78.

¹⁵⁹ E.g., M. Vickers, “The Stadium at Thessaloniki,” *Byzantion* 41 (1971), 347; later literature in Lemerle, op. cit., I, 56 note 4.

¹⁶⁰ Ed. P. Van den Ven, *La Légende de S. Spyridon, évêque de Trimithonte*, Bibliothèque du Muséon 33 (Louvain, 1953), 88–91, 81*, 144*; the text is cited by N. P. Ševčenko, *Cycles of the Life of St. Nicholas in Byzantine Art*, Ph.D. dissertation (Columbia University, 1973), esp. 20–21, and note 35, pointing out the linguistic similarities with the *Miracula S. Demetrii*.

A later instance of a hagiographer appealing to the visual arts for verification of a story occurs in the Life of St. Nikon Metanoeite, where we are told of a boy who fell ill with paraplegia, “so that he got no benefit at all from the skill and knowledge of the doctors. . . . The great one alone saved the [boy],” claims the biographer, adding, “the writing worked and engraved upon the silver censer of the monastery and the very picture (εἶδος) of the miracle in the form of an iconic relief (εἰκονική ἐκτύπωσις) now proves this quite clearly.”¹⁶¹ Seeing was believing.

V. SCULPTURE AND MINOR ARTS

Unlike painting, sculpture did not hold the place of honor in hagiographical writings, and the attitude toward statues is cautious, since they are naturally identified as pagan idols. The hagiographer of Basil the Younger is clear in this respect: the demons, covered with soot, corrupted and outlandish, seemed to him to resemble the idols of the “theater” (i.e., hippodrome).¹⁶² A positive perception of statues, however, was not impossible: some people, says the biographer of Constantine the Jew, follow the rule (νόμος) of holding in esteem the most valuable statues that more manifestly display the archetype through the excellence of their material.¹⁶³ The Vita of Theodore of Edessa says that the saint sat in his cell in such a complete silence that he resembled a bronze statue.¹⁶⁴ A similar comparison had been made with reference to Constantius II, in a well-known passage by Ammianus Marcellinus describing the emperor's triumphal entry into Rome.¹⁶⁵

In the Martyrium of the apostle Andrew, we read about a miracle performed in Sinope when the apostle approached a stone statue, made the sign of the cross with his hand, and addressed it as follows: “I say to you, statue, fear the sign of the cross, and bring forth water.” Thereupon, a deluge of water gushed from the mouth of the statue; the crowd, flabbergasted, asked Andrew to stop the flow of water, and he did.¹⁶⁶ This episode was meant to demonstrate the power of a Christian saint over the heathen force concealed in idols. The method used by the saint to achieve his ends, making the sign of the cross, was also employed by

¹⁶¹ BHG 1366; ed. Sullivan, p. 230.36–44, chap. 67.

¹⁶² BHG 263; ed. Veselovskij, *Sbornik* 46 (1889), supp., p. 31.17–19.

¹⁶³ BHG 370, col. 628B.

¹⁶⁴ BHG 1744, p. 12.22.

¹⁶⁵ *Res gestae*, 16.10.9.

¹⁶⁶ BHG 99; ed. M. Bonnet, *AnalBoll* 13 (1894), p. 357.21–29.

St. Pankratios of Taormina to silence some obstreperous demons who inhabited an idol of carved stone.¹⁶⁷ Likewise, Christian masons made use of crosses when they wished to neutralize images of pagan deities whose temples had been converted into churches. At the temple of Isis at Philae, for example, a relief of the goddess flanking the entrance of the north pylon was deliberately defaced in the sixth century by having a cross carved over her head (Fig. 34).¹⁶⁸

A substantially different legend concerning a statue is contained in Andrew's Acta. Here a marvelous marble icon of Andrew is mentioned, which completely resembled his holy image (ἰδέα); the statue had an inscription carved during his lifetime. Some Iconoclasts in the reign of [Constantine V] Kopronymos tried to destroy "this apostolic and revered icon," but in vain.¹⁶⁹ This marble "icon" of Andrew is also mentioned in another vita.¹⁷⁰

Precious objects, large and small, appear time and again in saints' lives, usually only named, not described. In the house of Philaretos there was an ancient "ivory (ἐλεφαντίνη) table" covered with gold; it was round and so big that thirty-six persons could sit at it.¹⁷¹ Holy vessels are naturally mentioned; for example, St. Bartholomew is said to have built a church of the Virgin beautifully adorned with icons, holy vessels, and curtains.¹⁷² Reliquaries, also, are sometimes described. Thus Michael III is said in the Vita of Theodore of Edessa to have ordered the production of a golden *thēkē* decorated with precious stones and pearls. The hagiographer adds that the reliquary, containing particles of the life-giving cross, was supplied with a golden key.¹⁷³ We learn further that the *thēkē* was brilliantly adorned, had an image (ἐκτύπωμα) of the Lord's countenance (χαράκτῆρ), and was placed in a box ornamented with gold.¹⁷⁴

The object described in Theodore's vita has certain features in common with the Fieschi-Morgan reliquary in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, which originally contained fragments of the True Cross, and which has recently been dated to the

first half of the ninth century (Fig. 35).¹⁷⁵ The Fieschi-Morgan reliquary is a box of gilded silver, with ten compartments for relics inside, arranged in and around the outline of a double-armed cross. The top of the cover bears an enameled image of the crucified Christ. There is a lock which is probably a later addition. A golden key from such a casket has, however, survived, and is now in the Menil collection in Houston. This key originally was attached to a ring which is presently at Dumbarton Oaks; its bezel bears the monogram of one "Panaretus," who, it has been suggested, is possibly the same individual as a Panaretus identified as "imperial curator" on a ninth-century lead sealing.¹⁷⁶

In the story of Theodore of Edessa, the reliquary was a gift from the emperor to Theodore's master, the "king of the Persians," Muawiyah, who had been converted to Christianity. A parallel case, of a True-Cross reliquary sent from Constantinople as a diplomatic gift, may be represented by a wooden box from the treasury of the Sancta Sanctorum in the Vatican (Fig. 36). It is decorated with Byzantine paintings executed in a tenth-century style. The reliquary is apparently mentioned in an inventory of the treasury made in the twelfth century.¹⁷⁷ On the top of its lid is a painting of the crucified Christ, while inside the box is a cavity for the relics in the shape of a double-armed cross. Beneath the lower arm of this cross-shaped cavity are paintings of Sts. Peter and Paul. Even though Peter and Paul played an important role in the legend of Constantine's conversion,¹⁷⁸ Constantine and Helena would normally occupy such a position in association with the True Cross in Byzantine art. The substitution of the Roman saints Peter and Paul in this case suggests that the box may have been made in Constantinople specifically for presentation to a pope.¹⁷⁹

Occasionally the saints' lives give details of the prices of reliquaries. For example, the Life of St. Pankratios, the bishop of Taormina in Sicily, which was composed perhaps in the eighth century, tells

¹⁶⁷ K. Doukakes, ed., *Megas synaxaristes, Ioulios* (Athens, 1893), p. 115. On the role of the cross in Byzantine life, see, among others, H. Hunger, *Reich der neuen Mitte* (Graz, 1965), 182–84.

¹⁶⁸ P. Nautin, "La conversion du temple de Philae en église chrétienne," *CahArch* 17 (1967), 1–43, esp. 24.

¹⁶⁹ *BHG* 100, p. 317.21–28.

¹⁷⁰ *BHG* 102; ed. PG 120, col. 220AB.

¹⁷¹ *BHG* 1511z, p. 137.30–31; see also *BHG* 1512, p. 75.17–19.

¹⁷² *BHG* 233, col. 481C.

¹⁷³ *BHG* 1744, pp. 89.26–90.2.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 92.2–15.

¹⁷⁵ Kartsonis, *Anastasis*, 94–123, figs. 24a–i.

¹⁷⁶ M. C. Ross, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, II, *Jewelry, Enamels, and Art of the Migration Period* (Washington, D.C., 1965), 81, no. 109, pl. 59; G. Vikan and J. Nesbitt, *Security in Byzantium: Locking, Sealing, and Weighing* (Washington, D.C., 1980), 5, fig. 9.

¹⁷⁷ F. E. Hyslop, Jr., "A Byzantine Reliquary of the True Cross from the Sancta Sanctorum," *ArtB* 16 (1934), 333–40, esp. 339, figs. 1–3.

¹⁷⁸ See note 48 above.

¹⁷⁹ Hyslop, *op. cit.*, 338–39; R. Cormack, "Painting after Iconoclasm," in *Iconoclasm*, ed. A. Bryer and J. Herrin (Birmingham, 1977), 147–63, esp. 151–53, fig. 34.

us that his father bought a True-Cross reliquary in the form of a cross for 500 nomismata from some merchants of Jerusalem. It was made of gold, adorned with precious stones, and was enclosed in a cedar box equipped with a lock. It appears that this same cross was later used by the saint to defend his town from attack by pagans; when it was put out on the ramparts, it emitted a light which blinded the besieging soldiers, so that they started to kill each other instead of the defenders.¹⁸⁰

The saints' lives also mention the embellishment of book covers with precious materials. In the *Vita* of John Kalybitis we read about a jeweler who adorned a Gospel book with precious stones and pearls. The function of this decoration was not liturgical, but educational. It was commissioned by wealthy parents who wished to encourage their schoolchild in his studies, "so that not only the interior contents of the Gospel book would arouse him to desire, but also the beauty of the exterior fittings would urge him to greater desire." The ruse worked: "taking the Gospel book, John carried it away and learned it thoroughly with great desire."¹⁸¹ It may be noted that the price of the book's embellishments is given by the biographer as 500 nomismata,¹⁸² the same sum as was asked for St. Pankratios' reliquary, even though the book performed no miracle, unless it was to increase a boy's eagerness to study. In the *Vita* of Lazarus Galesiotes the cost of a presumably unadorned Gospel book is given as a mere 12 nomismata.¹⁸³

Probably the most significant information related to illuminated book production is to be found in the *Vita* of Ignatios. This passage is well known and has been translated by C. Mango;¹⁸⁴ the author, Niketas Paphlagon, accused Photios of preparing two luxurious volumes adorned with gold, silver, and silken cloth and containing caricatures that ridiculed Patriarch Ignatios; they represented Ignatios in colored paintings made by Gregory Asbestas, metropolitan of Syracuse; "this

brave man," notes Niketas, "was also an artist, ζωγράφος, to top his other vices."¹⁸⁵ As other scholars have observed, the visual invective employed against the patriarch may have been similar to the miniatures of the ninth-century Chludov Psalter.¹⁸⁶ In his paintings Gregory Asbestas compared Ignatios to the devil and to Simon the Sorcerer, just as in the Psalter there are miniatures and legends identifying the Iconoclasts with these characters. Folio 51v, for example, depicts John the Grammarian with the long bristling hair of a devil, trampled under the feet of Nikephoros, beside an inscription identifying him as "John, the second Simon and Iconoclast" (Fig. 37).

VI. EPILOGUE

The material collected in the preceding pages has a double significance. In the first place, it furnishes some facts that would have remained unknown were it not for the "humble hagiographers" with their curiosity toward elements of reality—works of art are named and described (if briefly), their locations indicated, their prices mentioned, and so on. But besides this, hagiographers tell us how the Byzantines perceived their monuments, especially with respect to their function. The saints' lives tend to give us a different view of Byzantine art from the *ekphraseis*. The *ekphraseis* are more concerned with the *formal* qualities of images, with features of style and iconography and how those features conveyed the Christian story and dogma. But the saints' lives are more concerned with the *power* of images and with their abilities to work on behalf of their beholders. If the *ekphraseis* give us the "what," the saints' lives are more concerned with the "why" and the "when." We do not find there many long descriptions, but there is plenty of information about why images were made and valued, and when the Byzantines turned to them for help. Thus each type of text gives life to Byzantine art in a different way: the *ekphraseis* because they set out to describe the works vividly, and the saints' lives because they show the images interacting with people in Byzantine society.

¹⁸⁰ BHG 1410a; ed. A. N. Veselovskij, pp. 74, 108. See A. Frolov, *La relique de la Vraie Croix* (Paris, 1961), 214, no. 84.

¹⁸¹ BHG 868; ed. O. Lampsides, "Batikanoi kodikes periechontes ton bion hagiou Ioannou tou Kalybitou," *Ἀρχ. Πόντ.* 28 (1966), pp. 3–36, esp. 6.37–7.10.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 7.6–7.

¹⁸³ BHG 979, col. 514F.

¹⁸⁴ C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312–1453: Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1972), 191–92.

¹⁸⁵ BHG 817; ed. PG 105, cols. 540C–541C.

¹⁸⁶ A. Grabar, *L'Iconoclisme byzantin*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1984), 225–27, 243, 284–86; Cormack, "Painting after Iconoclasm," 160.

APPENDIX

 Saints' Lives Mentioned in the Article and
Their Tentative Dating

- Andrew, apostle (1st c.). His Acts, by Epiphanius, are probably of the 9th c. Another version, ascribed to Niketas Paphlagon (late 9th–early 10th c.), must have been compiled sometime later.
- Andrew in the Tribunal (“in Crisi”) (8th c.?). His Life must have been written before the 10th c. when it was reworked by Symeon Metaphrastes.
- Antony II Kauleas, patriarch of Constantinople (893–901). The dates of his hagiographer, Nikephoros, are unknown.
- Artemios, dux of Egypt in 360. His Miracles were produced in the mid-7th century.
- Athanasios of Athos (d. ca. 1000). His two vitae were written soon after his death.
- Barbara, a legendary figure, allegedly lived at the end of the 3rd or the beginning of the 4th century. Her *passio* was included in Metaphrastes’ collection (late 10th c.).
- Bartholomew of Grottaferrata (d. ca. 1055). His Life was a work of Luke, the abbot of Grottaferrata (second half of the 11th c.).
- Basil of Caesarea, the Great (d. 379). The pseudo-Amphilochian Life of Basil is variously dated from the 6th c. to ca. 800. A contemporary oration on his life was written by his brother, Gregory of Nyssa.
- Basil the Younger (d. 26 March 944). His Vita was written by his contemporary, the layman Gregory.
- Constantine the Great (324–337). His Vita was written by Eusebios of Caesarea soon after the emperor’s demise. Numerous legends appeared later, around the 9th c. The story of his conversion was treated also in the Life of Pope Sylvester (q.v.).
- Constantine the Jew was a contemporary of Basil I (867–886) and Leo VI (886–912). His anonymous biographer probably lived a generation later.
- David, Symeon, and George of Lesbos lived at the end of the 8th and the first half of the 9th century. Their Vita seems to have been composed ca. 863–865.
- Demetrios of Thessaloniki was executed, according to legend, by Maximian (286–305). His earlier Miracles were written by John, archbishop of Thessaloniki, produced ca. 606–620, and by an anonymous author at the end of the 7th century.
- Elias Speleotes probably died in 960, and his anonymous Life was produced by the end of the 10th century.
- George, a legendary saint, was, according to some stories, executed under Diocletian (286–305). His *passio* originates not later than the 5th century, but his Miracles are later, some probably of the 12th century.
- Germanos I, patriarch of Constantinople (715–730), died before 742(?). His Vita is probably of the 11th century.
- Gordios, a victim of the persecutions of Licinius (308–324), was eulogized by Basil of Caesarea in the 4th century.
- Gregory of Dekapolis (d. 842). His Life is assumed to come from the pen of Ignatios the Deacon (9th c.) by such authorities as I. Ševčenko and C. Mango, but W. Wolska-Conus expressed some doubts concerning his authorship.
- Gregory the Illuminator (ca. 240–ca. 332), an Armenian saint. His Life (of the 5th c.) survives in a Greek translation ascribed to Agathangelos.
- Ignatios, patriarch of Constantinople (847–858, 867–877). His hagiographer was Niketas Paphlagon (end of the 9th–beginning of the 10th c.).
- Irene, hegoumene of the convent of Chrysobalanton, a contemporary of Basil I (867–886). Her anonymous hagiographer knew Basil II (976–1025) and probably worked in the early 11th century.
- James, the brother of Christ (1st c.). His Vita was included in Metaphrastes’ collection (late 10th c.).
- John Kalybites (5th c.). One of his vitae has been wrongly ascribed to John of Damascus. At any rate, the manuscript tradition goes back to the 9th century. A Latin version, a translation by Anastasius Bibliothecarius, contains a preface dated 868.
- John of Damascus (d. mid-8th c.). His life, sometimes in conjunction with that of Kosmas of Jerusalem, was described in several vitae, among others by John Merkouropoulos, patriarch of Jerusalem, an enigmatic figure, who lived in the 12th century.
- Kosmas and Damianos, martyrs under Diocletian (286–305), the Anargyroi (those who healed without silver). The collection of miracles worked by them is probably of the 6th century.
- Lazaros Galesiotes (of Mount Galesios) (d. 1053). His Life was written by his pupil Gregory.
- Lesbian brothers: see David, Symeon, and George of Lesbos.
- Luke the Younger, Steiriotes (d. 953). His Vita was compiled after 961 and inserted into Metaphrastes’ collection.
- Marcianus of Syracuse, a disciple of the apostle Peter (1st c.). His enkomion is probably of the 8th century.
- Mary of Egypt. Her chronology cannot be established, but hagiographers of the 7th century were aware of her. Her Life is included in Metaphrastes’ collection (late 10th c.).
- Mary the Virgin, the Theotokos. The so-called Narratio de imagine Deiparae Romana, a collection of miracles worked by her icons, should probably be dated in the 11th century.
- Maria the Younger of Vize (d. ca. 903). Her anonymous Life is the work of an 11th-century writer rather than a contemporary.
- Michael the Synkellos (d. 846). The editor of his Life, F. Šmit, is inclined to consider his anonymous biographer as Michael’s contemporary, even though the writer confesses that he did not meet the saint.

- Nicholas of Stoudios (d. 868). His anonymous *Vita* was written by a monk of Stoudios approximately forty years after the saint's death.
- Nikon the Metanoëite (d. early 11th c.). The time of the composition of his *Vita* is problematic: it is unclear whether it consists of two sections, one written before 1025 and another in 1148, or was written as a whole.
- Pankratios of Taormina, a legendary disciple of the apostle Peter (1st c.). One of the *passiones* dedicated to him is ascribed to Theodore of Stoudios (8th c.), another to the saint's pupil Evagrius; in fact, it is pseudonymous.
- Patapios of Constantinople, whose chronology (probably the 6th or 7th c.) has not yet been established. Andrew of Crete (ca. 660–ca. 740) dedicated a laudation to him.
- Paul of Latros (d. 955). His anonymous *Life* was written soon after his death. Another *Life* was attributed to Symeon Metaphrastes.
- Philaretos the Merciful (Almoner) (d. 792). His *Vita* was written by his grandson Niketas of Amnia in 822.
- Sabas the Younger of Sicily (10th c.). His hagiographer was Orestes of Jerusalem, who died ca. 1005.
- Spyridon, bishop of Trimithous, Cyprus (d. after 346). Theodore of Paphos delivered an *enkomion* on Spyridon in 655.
- Stephen Sabaites (of Mar-Saba in Palestine) (d. 794). His pupil Leontios compiled his biography.
- Stephen the Younger of Constantinople, was executed by Constantine V (741–775) ca. 765. Stephen the Deacon wrote his *Vita* in 807.
- Sylvester, pope (314–335). The dating of the Greek version of his *Life* is a matter of debate—the second half of the 8th century may be a plausible date.
- Tarasios, patriarch of Constantinople (784–806). His *Vita* was written by Ignatios the Deacon probably soon after 843.
- Theodora of Thessaloniki died in 892. Her *Translation* and probably her *Vita* were written by the klerikos Gregory in the early 10th century—according to E. Kurtz, the editor of the dossier on Theodora, before 904.
- Theodore Graptos (Incised) (d. 844). His biography is included in Metaphrastes' collection (late 10th c.).
- Theodore of Edessa, supposedly of the mid-9th century. His *Vita* is a hagiographical romance probably written in the 10th century. The author claims to have been Basil of Emesa, the saint's nephew, but the claim is fictitious.
- Theodore of Sykeon (d. 613). His *Vita* seems to have been written by his disciple George after 641.
- Theodore Stratelates (General), allegedly executed under Licinius (308–324), did not appear in hagiographical literature before the 9th century. The author of his earliest *enkomion*, Niketas Paphlagon, distinguished him from Theodore Teron (q.v.), but in fact Stratelates' biography is modeled on that of Teron.
- Theodore of Stoudios (monastery in Constantinople) (759–826). There are at least three versions of his biography, none of which was produced before 855. The author of one of them was Michael of Stoudios of whom nothing is known; another version is sometimes ascribed to Theodore Daphnopates (10th c.).
- Theodore Teron (Foot Soldier), an enigmatic martyr, allegedly executed at the beginning of the 4th century and praised by Gregory of Nyssa, and with more detail by Chrysippos of Jerusalem (5th c.). In the 11th century, John Mauropous produced an *enkomion* of Theodore and a description of his feast.
- Theophylaktos of Nikomedeia (d. before 820). His *Vita* was compiled after 843 by a man also called Theophylaktos; the precise date of his work is unknown.
- Thomais of Lesbos. The chronology of her life is unknown. The anonymous hagiographer mentions Romanos II (959–963) and must have lived after this emperor, but it is unclear how long after.

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Author(s): Alexander Kazhdan

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State, Feudal, and Private Economy in Byzantium

ALEXANDER KAZHDAN

More than twenty years ago Ihor Ševčenko published "Two Varieties of Historical Writing,"¹ an article in which he introduced as heroes two contrasting forms of the same species—the caterpillar and the butterfly, standing for the technician and the vivid historian, respectively. Although he concluded that "it takes all kinds of workers to elucidate the past," his preference was for the "unsung" caterpillar, the modest provider of factual knowledge, whose achievements require skill and enjoy durability. The problem so brilliantly ("vividly," I would say) treated by Ševčenko was not new in 1969. Nor was it exhausted by his article; sparing the reader dry bibliography I will refer back only to Hans-Georg Beck's paper "Byzantinistik heute" read at the International Congress of Byzantine Studies in Athens in 1976 and published the following year.² Beck, fully aware that he was in the minority, expressed strong doubts that caterpillar-like diligence alone can bring us closer to an understanding of the past.

But are we correct in emphasizing the *conflict* between facts without theory and a theory of civilization without facts, as Ševčenko put it, or between analysis and generalization, as I prefer to call it, avoiding rhetorical figures of speech? Why not discard the mutual distrust and accept the fact believer and the theory believer as two complementary and necessary contributors to the development of historical knowledge? Without broad (and sometimes erroneous) theoretical contemplations, we are powerless to establish the terms and concepts that are indispensable for the historian unless he is willing to be satisfied with describing and renarrating sources. Like it or not, the theory of history prepares the system of coordinates, the general network, within which the facts, discovered by the caterpillar's hard labor, can and must be set up.

This paper will deal with scholarly terms and concepts that are distinct from the terms and concepts originating in sources: the source concepts are scooped from, the scholarly ones imposed upon, reality. There are rigorists (I guess mostly among caterpillars) who deny the applicability of scholarly terms such as "social class" or "feudalism" to Byzantine reality, since they are not given to us in or by sources. I have no desire to polemicize against this consistent self-restriction; even the purest *Quellenkunde* cannot do without modern terms—archaeology and sigillography themselves are conventional scholarly designations not found in sources. Scholarly concepts have a substantial ad-

¹I. Ševčenko, "Two Varieties of Historical Writing," *History and Theory* 8 (Middletown, Conn., 1969), 332–45, reprinted in his *Ideology, Letters and Culture in the Byzantine World* (London, 1982), pt. I.

²H.-G. Beck, *Byzantinistik heute* (Berlin-New York, 1977), 7–9.

vantage over source terms: Byzantine terms are generally loaded with multiple meanings—thus the *pronoia* had a broad range of senses, from Providence to administration to the quasi-feudal right over a country population.³ The modern terms, if agreed upon, could bear a narrow and precise meaning, and if today we rarely reach accord, it is the fault of our own inflexibility not the material.

Thus I will deal in this paper with three concepts imposed upon Byzantium and linked—artificially or not, the evaluation depends on individual taste—to certain phenomena described in available sources. Furthermore, the concepts I will address are usually considered conflicting since each is regularly attached to three different kinds of society; accordingly, if we grant Byzantium one of these concepts we are inclined to reject the other two as inappropriate or contradictory. The three concepts are private, feudal, and state ownership and the forms of social organization on which they are based.

Private property is our pet, our favorite; we stake an almost exceptional claim on it. Besides modern Western society only the Roman world seems to have obtained it, and Roman jurists are credited with the formulation of its principles. Byzantium is said to have inherited private property from the Romans, being an uninterrupted continuation of the Roman Empire and having assumed Roman law and Roman legal textbooks.⁴

Feudal property is seen as the predecessor of Western private property. It is usually accepted that feudal property was countermanded, “negated,” and replaced by private property and that its existence was limited in time and space. It used to be fashionable to discover feudalism everywhere, in ancient Egypt and in Homeric Greece, for example;⁵ the trend dissipated, and besides Japan, contemporary Western scholars usually acknowledge feudal relations only in Western Europe, or even only in some parts of it.⁶ Byzantine feudalism was theorized by a few scholars, including Georgii Ostrogorsky,⁷

³On the *pronoia* see below, notes 36 and 37.

⁴Michail Sjuzumov emphatically stressed that the full private ownership of land on the Byzantine territory preceded the formation of the Byzantine Empire, and it was so strongly rooted there that the Slavic invasion has not destroyed this institution (“K voprosu ob osobennostjach genezisa i razvitija feodalizma v Vizantii,” *VizVrem* 17 [1960], 4 f); P. Lemerle (*The Agrarian History of Byzantium* [Galway, 1979], 57) also asserts that the small or middle-sized free property survived the fall of the Roman Empire, and so did the great property. What matters in this connection is the use of such epithets as “full” and “free” for the characterization of Byzantine property or ownership.

⁵In the recently published collection of articles under the title *Feudalism: Comparative Studies*, ed. E. Leach, S. N. Mukherjee, and J. Ward (Sydney, 1985), the authors characteristically vascillate between the concept that feudalism was a myth and an attempt to identify it as a “hydraulic society” that existed in Asia and had considerable parallels with the Western Middle Ages.

⁶On Japanese feudalism see P. Anderson, *Lineages of the Absolutist State* (London, 1979), 435–61. H. Wunder (“Feudalismus” in *Lexikon des Mittelalters* IV [Munich-Zurich, 1989], 413) assumes that besides medieval Western Europe, only Japan, the Muslim states, and Russia might be considered as having had a feudal “Verfassungssystem.” The literature on the concept of feudalism is innumerable, but it is typical of the contemporary critical perception of it that the encyclopedia *La nouvelle histoire* (Paris, 1978), issued under the direction of J. Le Goff, not only omits an entry on feudalism but avoids this term even where it might be appropriate.

⁷Three works by Ostrogorsky are esp. relevant for this topic: *Pour l'histoire de la féodalité byzantine* (Brussels, 1954); *Quelques problèmes d'histoire de la paysannerie byzantine* (Brussels, 1956); and “Pour l'histoire de l'immunité à Byzance,” *Byzantion* 28 (1958), 165–254.

but his concept and his terminology are rejected or neglected by the leading contemporary scholars in the field.⁸

State property is probably the trickiest concept of the three. While private property is a "positive" category, the source of all economic virtue, state property has negative connotations: it is alien in our world; it is Oriental and totalitarian. It was developed in the countries of the Fertile Crescent, inherited by Persia, and dominated China through its ancient and medieval periods. Byzantium that lived in accordance with Roman law had no room for state property.⁹

Despite many deviations, this pattern is commonly accepted by Western Byzantine scholarship. Marxist theory of history, with its idea of inevitable social and economic formations, differs from this insofar as it introduces feudalism as an indispensable stage of historical development: feudal property must have existed in every medieval country, including Byzantium. As far as ancient property is concerned, the Marxist interpretation is confused: not only private (Roman) and state (Oriental) property occur within one and the same "slaveholder" formation, the private property of antiquity must have been different from modern ("capitalist") private property, although the principle of this distinction remains unclear.¹⁰ But fortunately, antiquity is beyond the scope of this paper.

Thus, if we summarize this brief survey we may assert the following: the concept of Byzantine state property is considered inapplicable unless we take into consideration those (*moi y compris*) whose voices sound in vain in a scholarly desert; private and feudal elements are perceived as excluding each other so that some scholars accept private property as the predominant form throughout the entire Byzantine period of the Eastern Roman Empire, whereas others characterize Byzantium as a feudal country; if there

⁸P. Lemerle (*The Agrarian History* [as in note 4], 89 note 1) warns "against the improper and quasi-mythical use that most of these studies make of the term 'feudal,'" and later on (p. 201 f), in a sentence clumsily translated from the French, he denies "the appearance of some form of real *feudalism*" even in Komnenian Byzantium.

⁹The most consistent denial of the state ownership of land in Byzantium one can find is in G. Litavrin, "Problema gosudarstvennoj sobstvennosti v Vizantii X-XI vv.," *VizVrem* 35 (1973), 51–74, and M. Ja. Sjuzjumov, "Suverenitet, nalog i zemel'naja renta v Vizantii," *Antičnaja drevnost' i srednie veka* 9 (Sverdlovsk, 1973), 57–65. On the continuation of discussion, see G. Litavrin, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo i gosudarstvo v X-XI vv.* (Moscow, 1977), 23–28, and "Le problème de la propriété d'Etat en Byzance aux Xe-XIe siècles," *Byzantiaka* 9 (1989), 9–46. Western scholars, with rare exception, ignore this problem: G. Platon (*Observations sur le droit de protimesis en droit byzantin* [Paris, 1906, 87 f) and J. Danstrup ("The State and Landed Property in Byzantium to c.1250," *ClMed* 8 [1964], 221–62) acknowledged the existence of the state supreme ownership of the land of the empire. Their arguments were not convincing, and they cannot outweigh the peremptory negation of the state *dominium directum* by such an authority as H.-G. Beck (*Res publica Romana: Vom Staatsdenken der Byzantiner* [Munich, 1970], 38 f). We should not forget, however, that it was F. Dölger who postulated, although in passing, the "Oberherrschaft des Kaisers über allen Grundbesitz" (note on D. A. Zakythenos, *BZ* 45 [1952], 194).

¹⁰E. M. Štaerman (*Krizis rabovladel'českogo stroja v zapadnykh provincijach Rimskoj imperii* [Moscow, 1957], 26–48) defines the "private ancient slaveholder ownership" as the leading form of ownership in the Roman Empire, side by side with which, however, other forms (village community, imperial domains) existed. The private ancient property presupposed simple cooperation, division of labor, and involvement in a market economy; what distinguished it from the capitalist system was "the absolute power of the lord" over the slave—a factor, I must add, that lay beyond the lord's relation to the land, beyond the sphere of the law of things.

is a distinction within the latter group it is chronological—it remains to determine only when—in the fourth century, in the eleventh, or sometime in between—feudal relations began in Byzantium. If these two forms are thought of as coinciding they appear in conflict—thus for Michail Sjuzumov Byzantine history unfolds as a perennial struggle between the urban private property and the feudal landownership.¹¹

On the contrary, I would like to demonstrate: first, that all three forms of property and of related economic, social, and legal interconnections did exist in Byzantium; and second, they did not exist in a sequential manner, so that, say, feudal relations came to replace the ones based on private property; and finally, while coinciding they supplemented rather than conflicted with each other.

The concept of social and economic “privacy” was broadly spread in Byzantium. The Byzantines created their wealth individually or by family and familylike groups. Their fields, vineyards, and gardens, encircled by fences and ditches, formed fixed parcels or farms and not lots of the common (“open”) possessions—contrary to Russian Byzantinists’ traditional views.¹² Plowing with a two-ox *zeugarion* required less cooperation than with the northern eight-ox team, and flourishing horticulture and viticulture presupposed a substantial part of manual labor with hoes, spades, and knives of all sorts that implied individual work on a large scale.¹³ On the other hand, transhumance that tore shepherds away from their homes and sent men with their flocks and dogs to grazing-grounds that were untilled and free from private property contributed to the development of individualistic behavior: children driving their pigs outside a village would play together, but the adult shepherds stood alone and lonely for weeks on end.

In the town, trade activity was of a small scale: the workshop (*ergasterion*), often linked to the living quarters, was tiny, barely allowing space for two men to work.¹⁴ Guild supervision and state control could have been imposed on these workshops, but the work itself—with rare exceptions such as mining—was performed individually. Boats

¹¹ He formulated the thesis of the struggle between the Hellenistic city and “Merovingian village” already in his “Problemy ikonoborčestva v Vizantii” (*Učenyje zapiski Sverdlovskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogičeskogo instituta* 4 [1948], 66); this struggle developed in the 8th through 10th centuries. In the 12th century, again, the major antagonism was between the merchant milieu of the capital and the feudal circles (“Vnutrennjaja politika Andronika Komnina i razgrom prigorodov Konstantinopolja v 1187 gody,” *VizVrem* 12 [1957], 67 f); the same antagonism formed the background of the political fight in 14th-century Thessaloniki (“K voprosu o karaktere vystuplenija zilotov v 1342–1349 gg.,” *VizVrem* 28 [1968], 29). See also his “Bor’ba za puti razvitiia feodal’nykh otnošenij v Vizantii” (*Vizantijskie očerki* [Moscow, 1961], 34–63).

¹² The best presentation of this traditional thesis is in E. E. Lipšic, “Vizantijskoe krest’janstvo i slavjanskaja kolonizacija,” *Vizantijskij sbornik* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1945), 117–23. F. Dölger (in a note on Lipšic’s article—*BZ* 43 [1950], 154 f) and P. Lemerle (*The Agrarian History*, 41–46) express doubts concerning the collective aspect of the village organization in the Farmer’s Law. M. Kaplan, *Les hommes et la terre à Byzance du VIe au XIe siècle. Propriété et exploitation du sol* (Paris, 1992), devoted a special chapter (p. 185–218) to the village community; he acknowledges communal solidarity but only “marginal importance” of communal economy.

¹³ The history of Byzantine agriculture has not yet been written, even though some preliminary investigations are now available—see, first of all, Kaplan, *Les hommes et la terre* (as in note 12), 25–87, 464–82; A. Harvey, *Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire* (Cambridge, 1989), 120–62; and A. Laiou, *Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire* (Princeton, N.J., 1977), 24–33.

¹⁴ On the Byzantine *ergasterion* see A. Stöckle, *Spättrömische und byzantinische Zünfte* (Leipzig, 1911), 71–73, and additional information in N. Oikonomides, “Quelques boutiques de Constantinople au Xe siècle,” *DOP* 26 (1972), 345–56; G. R. Davidson, “A Medieval Glass-Factory at Corinth,” *AJA* 44 (1940), 297–324; J. S. Crawford, *The Byzantine Shops at Sardis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990).

became smaller than in the Roman Empire, and merchants often traveled and traded individually, even though both they and pilgrims formed temporary and loose caravans (to deter robbers) and Constantinopolitan guilds conducted the purchase of foreign goods.

The decrease in the number of slaves and of their role in the economy practically put an end to the barrack maintenance of manpower well known in Rome; the slaves—when they survived—were minor members of the family or formed their own families that dwelled in separate rooms, as is described in the *vita* of Basil the Younger, among others.¹⁵ Not only in the countryside but in towns as well people lived predominantly in small family houses. Archaeological evidence of the large *insulae* disappeared after the late Roman period, although literary texts still mention them, at least in Constantinople.¹⁶

Byzantine monasteries were small save for some famous centers such as Constantinopolitan Pantokrator or the Great Lavra on Mt. Athos. Moreover, many of these monasteries were divided into familylike communities (*metochia*) of two to three monks managing individual households.¹⁷

Probably the most interesting and the most disputable facet of Byzantine individualism evolved in the sphere of morality and religion. Two questions must be answered first of all in this connection: one, are the principles of behavior as stated in Kekaumenos and Symeon the Theologian really family-oriented and individualistic?,¹⁸ and two, are these principles—if we interpret them as such—the leading trend of Byzantine ethics or did they develop on the outskirts of Byzantine society, representing only a dissident minority? It is well known that Michael Psellos and some other intellectuals propagated a different manner of behavior whose foundation was the cult of *philia*, friendship,¹⁹ and not of physical (Kekaumenos) or spiritual (*pater pneumatikos* and disciple) family that Symeon struggled for. But who was more exceptional—the Plato-lover Psellos or Kekaumenos, the embodiment of Byzantine common sense?

The problem of salvation was the focal point of Byzantine theology, and all major theological discussions revolved around it. Although both the Byzantine and Western theory of salvation derive from the same biblical legacy, emphasis was placed differently

¹⁵ Ch. Angelide, “Δούλοι στην Κωνσταντινούπολη τὸν 10^ο αἰ. Ἡ μαρτυρία τοῦ Βίου τοῦ ὁσίου Βασιλείου τοῦ Νέου,” *Symmeikta* 6 (1985), 33–51. The only general survey of Byzantine slavery—A. Hadjinicolaou-Marava, *Recherches sur la vie des esclaves dans le monde byzantin* (Athens, 1950)—is obsolete. Cf. the historiographical essay—H. Köpstein, “Die byzantinische Sklaverei in der Historiographie der letzten 125 Jahre,” *Klio* 43–45 (1965), 560–76.

¹⁶ See S. P. Ellis, “The End of the Roman House,” *AJA* 92 (1988), 565–76.

¹⁷ On *metochia* see M. Freidenberg, “Monastyrskaja votčina v Vizantii XI–XII vv.,” *Učenyje zapiski Velikoluk-skogo pedinstitutu* 4.2 (1959), 62 f.; X. Chvostova, “Vzaimootnošeniia Chilandarskogo monastyrja i nekotorych ego metochov v xiv v.,” *VizVrem* 18 (1961), 30–53; J. Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire* (Washington, D.C., 1987), 251. On the size of Byzantine monasteries some data are gathered in R. Janin, “Le monachisme Byzantin au moyen âge,” *REB* 22 (1964), 30 f.

¹⁸ A. Kazhdan, “Predvaritel’nye zamečaniia o mirovozzrenii vizantijskogo mistika X–XI vv. Simeona,” *BSI* 28 (1967), 20 f. My thesis was questioned by certain scholars, e.g., G. Litavrin, *Sovety i rasskazy Kekavmena* (Moscow, 1972), 101 f. On the social ethics of Kekaumenos see also P. Magdalino, “Honour among Romaioi: The Framework of Social Values in the World of Digenes Akrites and Kekaumenos,” *BMGS* 13 (1989), 183–218 (without taking into consideration the Kazhdan-Litavrin polemic).

¹⁹ F. Tinnefeld, “‘Freundschaft’ in den Briefen des Michael Psellos,” *JÖB* 22 (1973), 151–68; Ja. N. Ljubarskij, *Michail Psell. Ličnost’ i tvorčestvo* (Moscow, 1978), 117–24.

in the two parts of the Christian world: the Western church stressed God's ineffable predestination and the church's institutional administration of salvation ("no salvation outside church"), whereas the Byzantine church put the emphasis on the individual's deeds and thoughts (inseparably linked with God's will through the so-called *synergeia*); the acting force was man himself coupled with his spiritual father rather than the ecclesiastical institution, the means was obedience (humbleness, fear) to God rather than sacraments and it could be rewarded by the individual vision of the divine light.²⁰ I am not saying that the Byzantine church neglected sacraments, but it dealt with them less than its Western counterpart;²¹ and accordingly mysticism in the strict sense of the word, the direct communication with the divine world, had in Byzantium a less heretical tint than in the West. Scholars have spilled much ink arguing that the fourteenth-century hesychasm had a solid patristic background—be that as it may, hesychasm underscored the individual way of salvation,²² as did Symeon the Theologian three centuries earlier.

Within such an "individualistic" society private ownership was a natural phenomenon, a legal and economic principle of existence. Byzantine law stuck to the Roman idea of private ownership, and the *Basilika* preserved the corresponding sections of the Justinianic compilation. However, Byzantine property was far from being a "free" or "absolute" right of things: on the one hand, under the impact of vulgar law and despite the classicizing tendencies of the sixth-century Roman (Constantinopolitan) jurists, the strict distinction between *dominium* or *proprietas* as total mastery over a thing and *possessio* as actual control became blurred in Byzantine documents; the term *despoteia* (*dominium*) could designate the physical enjoyment of the thing, and verbs *katechein* and *despozein*, "possess" and "own," were used synonymously.²³ On the other hand, Roman "free" ownership became limited by various forms of communal or rather neighboring rights. One aspect of these rights is well studied: Byzantine peasants enjoyed the right of pre-emption, *protimesis*,²⁴ of neighboring lands, and bore the obligation to pay taxes on the lands deserted by their neighbors. Less observable and less studied are those rights of neighbors that functioned on a regular basis, without attracting the particular attention of the state legislators. These rights, called customary (*synetheia*, *ethos*) in the texts, opened for neighbors the possibility of entering adjacent allotments for collecting wood and firewood, grazing flocks, using water, fishing, picking up chestnuts, and even treating themselves to grapes.²⁵ The Byzantine village community was a contradictory institution: it was based on private ownership and individual or family labor, but it also was

²⁰ A. Kazhdan, "Das System der Bilder und Metaphern in den Werken Symeons des 'Neuen' Theologen," in *Unser ganzes Leben Christus unserm Gott überantworten*, ed. P. Hauptmann (Göttingen, 1982), 221–39. The literature on Symeon is enormous (see, e.g., B. Krivocheine, *In the Light of Christ. St. Symeon the New Theologian* (Crestwood, N.Y., 1986), but his social stand is usually neglected.

²¹ See, among others, R. Hotz, *Sakramente im Wechselspiel zwischen Ost und West* (Zürich-Cologne, 1979).

²² J. Meyendorff, *Byzantine Hesychasm: Historical, Theological, and Social Problems* (London, 1974); M. Paparozzi, *La spiritualità dell'Oriente cristiano: L'escasmo* (Rome, 1981); G. Podskalsky, "Zur Gestalt und Geschichte des Hesychasmus," *OKS* 16 (1967), 15–32.

²³ A. Kazhdan, "Do we Need a New History of Byzantine Law?" *JÖB* 39 (1989), 19–21.

²⁴ G. Ostrogorsky, "The Peasant's Pre-emption Right," *JRS* 37 (1947), 117–26; Ju.Ja. Vin, "Pravo pred-poštenija v pozdnevizantijskoj derevne," *VizVrem* 45 (1984), 218–29.

²⁵ Besides my article cited in note 23, see H. Antonidis-Bibicou, A. Guillou, "Vizantijskaja i postvizan-tijskaja obščina," *VizVrem* 49 (1988), 24–30; D. Górecki, "A Farmer Community in the Byzantine Middle

a conglomerate of neighbors who had customary claims to adjacent lands, who acted as a united group against outsiders, and who had their agents, their local administration.²⁶

How did this system of small, independent, private households function? The production of these households, both of peasants and of craftsmen, or at least a substantial part of it, came to the market and was either sold for money or exchanged for other commodities; even a portion of salary could be given in kind (grain, fodder, clothes, and so on).²⁷ Small-scale markets were held regularly, as was the trade of bakers or grocers in larger cities; irregular markets, or fairs, had an indicative name of "festival" (*panegyris*) and were restricted by time, space, and event, such as special *panegyreis* arranged for foreign armies on their move across Byzantine territory.²⁸ There are substantial data, primarily numismatical, that allow one to hypothesize that from the seventh through the ninth century the number of coins struck, and accordingly the amount of money in circulation, decreased, even though Byzantium had never been a country with a predominantly barter economy. The money economy regenerated rapidly in the eleventh and twelfth centuries,²⁹ which mainly accounted for the shortage of precious metal and drastic inflation in the second half of the eleventh century.

Certainly, the contracts of sale, exchange, and rent always existed in Byzantium, and it is probably incidental (albeit strange) that the Farmer's Law, the collection of country rules issued, most probably, in the seventh century, did not mention the sale of land.³⁰ What seems, however, momentous is the Byzantine jurists' neglect of the sophisticated forms of contract developed in Roman law; the comparison of the eleventh-century collection of legal cases, the *Peira* of Eustathios Rhomaïos, with the *Basilika* that consistently relied upon Justinianic law, showed that complicated legal issues, such as mandate, usufruct, obligations, sea trade, and so forth came rarely within the field of interest of the eleventh-century judge.³¹ Economic and legal relations became simplified as the

Ages: Historiography and Legal Analysis of Sources," *ByzSt* 9 (1982), 169–98; H. Köpstein, "Zur byzantinischen Dorfgemeinde des 7./8. Jahrhunderts," *Les communautés rurales*, 6ème partie, *Europe Orientale* (Paris, 1986), 77–86, to quote a few.

²⁶ Ju. Ja. Vin. "Evoljucija organov samoupravljenija sel'skoj obščiny i formirovanie votčinnnoj administracii v pozdnej Vizantii," *VizVrem* 43 (1982), 201–18.

²⁷ The major monograph on Byzantine economy is M. F. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy* (Cambridge, 1985), cf. also A. Kazhdan, "Iz ekonomičeskoj žizni Vizantii XI–XII vv.," *Vizantijskie očerki* (Moscow, 1971), 169–212, and the review by G. Weiss, *Byzantina* 6 (1974), 474–77.

²⁸ See, for instance, *Anna Comnène, Alexiade*, ed. B. Leib and P. Gautier, 3 vols. and Index (Paris, 1937–76), II, 209.8, 226.21; the standard formula δαψιλεῖς πανηγύρεις is translated "larges approvisionnements" in the first case and "abondant ravitaillement" in the second. It escapes my understanding why πανηγύρεις (in II, 107.24) is translated "des recrues des provinces voisines." On panegyris see A. Laiou, "Händler und Kauflaute auf dem Jahrmarkt," in *Fest und Alltag in Byzanz* (Munich, 1990), 53–70.

²⁹ M. Hendy, "Byzantium, 1081–1204: An Economic Reappraisal," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, 20 (1970), 31–52, cf. C. Morrisson, "La dévaluation de la monnaie byzantine au XIe siècle," *TM* 6 (1976), 3–47, and esp. Harvey, *Economic Expansion* (as in note 13), 108–19.

³⁰ The new edition of the Farmer's Law was issued under the direction of I. P. Medvedev—*Vizantijskij zemledel'českij zakon* (Leningrad, 1984). Besides the works of P. Lemerle and E. Lipšic cited in notes 4 and 12 respectively, various articles could be named, e.g., H. Köpstein, "O processe social'noj differenciacii po Zemledel'českomu zakonu," *VizVrem* 38 (1977), 3–8; J. Karayannopoulos, "Entstehung und Bedeutung des Nomos Georgikos," *BZ* 51 (1958), 357–73. See also J. F. Haldon, "Some Considerations on Byzantine Society and Economy in the Seventh Century," *ByzF* 10 (1985), 75–112.

³¹ Kazhdan, "Do we Need a New History" (as in note 23), 8 f. For a general characterization of the *Peira* see in N. Oikonomides, "The 'Peira' of Eustathios Romaïos," *Fontes minores* 7 (Frankfurt, 1986), 169–92.

market relations grew poorer and looser (without, however, being extinguished during any period of Byzantine history), and even in the eleventh century they did not reach the level reflected in the classic Roman law.

The study of feudal phenomena in Byzantium has been obscured by many causes. First of all, if we agree to limit feudalism to the hierarchical structure of the ruling class, Byzantium unquestionably remains beyond the feudal system; the Byzantines were baffled by the hierarchical structure of the Crusaders' armies, and on the other hand, Western observers emphasized nonhierarchical composition of Byzantine society.³² Byzantium created some forms of hierarchy, but those that remind us of Western institutions (e.g., private *hetaireiai*) are underdeveloped,³³ and those which appear flourishing belong to the worlds of court and bureaucracy (i.e., to nonfeudal relationship).³⁴

But feudalism is a conventional, scholarly concept, and we may agree to use it in a broader sense related to social and economic (and not only political) spheres of human connections. With this suggestion in mind, let us investigate two Byzantine institutions, cardinal for any medieval society—ownership and rent: can we discover any feudal features in these institutions?

The feudal or quasi-feudal features of Byzantine land property have never entered Byzantine legal textbooks, and accordingly they have never attracted the attention of legal historians. They were studied by historians from economic, social, and administrative viewpoints. Byzantine quasi-feudal (let us cautiously apply such a term) property had three major aspects. The first, relations of the state and the "owner," was especially popular with scholars who emphasized the temporary, conditional, and often incorporeal character of property bestowed by the state on an individual (a warrior or a functionary) or on an ecclesiastical institution. Hélène Ahrweiler called this type of property "conditional donations."³⁵ Many scholars dealt with a specific form of conditional donation, the so-called *pronoia*, and they suggested two different, we may even say contrasting, interpretations. On the one hand, the *pronoia* was construed as a regular land fief (the term used, among others, by Ostrogorsky); in principle it amounted to its Western counterpart, and like the latter was gradually transformed into the full-fledged estate (*gonikon*) that could be transmitted to descendants *à titre héréditaire*.³⁶ On the other hand,

³² Especially striking examples are the observation of Kinnamos (Bonn ed. [1836], 68.20–69.3) and Frederick Barbarossa's derision of the Byzantine envoys as described by Niketas Choniates (*Historia*, ed. J. L. van Dieten [Berlin-New York, 1975], 410.61–72). On the views of these historians see C. Asdracha, "L'image de l'homme occidental à Byzance: La témoignage de Kinnamos et de Choniates," *BSI* 44 (1983), 31–40; A. Kazhdan and G. Constable, *People and Power in Byzantium* (Washington, 1982), 24 f.

³³ G. Weiss, *Joannes Kantakuzenos—Aristokrat, Staatsmann, Kaiser und Mönch—in der Gesellschaftsentwicklung von Byzanz im 14. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 1969), 23–53; H.-G. Beck, "Byzantinische Gefolgschaftswesen," *SBMünch* (1965), reprinted in his *Ideen und Realitäten in Byzanz* (London, 1972), pt. XI; J.-C. Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963–1210)* (Paris, 1990), 287–301.

³⁴ On the Byzantine bureaucratic hierarchy see N. Oikonomides, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles* (Paris, 1972).

³⁵ H. Ahrweiler, "La concession des droits incorporels. Donations conditionnelles," *Actes du XII Congrès international des études byzantines*, II (Belgrade, 1964), 103–14, reprinted in her *Etudes sur les structures administratives et sociales de Byzance* (London, 1971), pt. I.

³⁶ The idea of the *pronoia*-fief was developed by F. Uspenskij, "Značenie vizantijskoj i južnoslavjanskoj pronii," *Sbornik statej po slavjanovedeniju, sostavlennyj i izdannyy učenicami V. I. Lamanskogo* (St. Petersburg, 1883), 1–32. G. Ostrogorsky presented this thesis in a much more elegant and accurate form, on a broader

pronoia was conceived as the donation of rent rather than land.³⁷ The hotly debated question of whether or not the *pronoia* had an exclusively military character has no relevance to our topic.

Whichever interpretation we accept, the *pronoia* was different from Roman *dominium*, from “free” private ownership. It presupposed a cooperation between the state and the bearer of the *pronoia* right, neither of which obtained the full mastery of the thing; the more so that the *pronoia* was extended to incorporeal objects and the “owner” of *pronoia* wielded judicial and administrative rights over the population under his dominion.³⁸

Even more complex is another quasi-feudal institution—the so-called *charistikion*.³⁹ It originated from donations or concessions of monastic estates to predominantly, although not exclusively, lay persons. The donations were exercised by the emperor or patriarch as supreme state or church authorities and created, under the sway of supreme power, “divided” or “split” ownership in which the rights of the *charistikarios* and of the monastery were defined by a special document. Thus the *charistikion* appears as a three-tier ownership with different roles of each “level.”

The third aspect of Byzantine quasi-feudal property is the lord-tenant relationship, the replacement of the Roman ownership by medieval tenure. Unlike the *pronoia* and *charistikion*, this aspect has been rarely studied as the emphasis has been on the social status of the *paroikos*-tenant and not on the legal status of his allotment. The feudal (or quasi-feudal) character of the lord-tenant relationship, so far as they are known from late Byzantine documents, is revealed first and foremost in two important phenomena—the rent and the price of land. Both phenomena are hard to study because of scanty sources and the dearth of information available. The *praktika* (tax records) and purchase deeds indicate the precise sum of money paid but describe the object of taxation and of sale in a very vague form. Nevertheless, some conclusions may be drawn.

In the first place, the Byzantine peasant paid his rent in the same three forms that existed throughout medieval Western Europe: in coin, in kind, and in the form of corvée.⁴⁰ We have no sufficient data to establish the relation between these three types of

source basis, in his Serbian book *Pronija* (Belgrade, 1951), translated into French in *Pour l'histoire de la féodalité byzantine* (as in note 7), 1–257.

³⁷A. Hohlweg, “Zur Frage der Pronoia in Byzanz,” *BZ* 60 (1967), 288–308, see also D. Jacoby, “Les archontes grecs et la féodalité en Morée franque,” *TM* 2 (1967), 432–45. Ostrogorsky defended his concept against Hohlweg and Jacoby—“Die Pronoia unter den Komnenen,” *ZRVI* 12 (1970), 41–54, and he was supported by A. Carile, “Sulla pronoia nel Peloponneso bizantino anteriormente alla conquista latina,” *ZRVI* 16 (1975), 55–61, and under the same title in *Studi Urbinati* 46 (1972), 327–35. X. Chvostova, in the article “Pronija: sozial'no-ekonomičeskie i pravovye problemy” (*VizVrem* 49 [1988], 13–23), does not mention the articles by Hohlweg and Jacoby and avoids discussion of problems they raised.

³⁸The most evocative case is the decision of *lizios* and *kaballarios* Syrgaris (Sir Harris?) to send a certain legal case “to the householders of his *pronoia*” (F. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, 6 vols. [Vienna, 1860–90], IV, 81.19–22), that we know from a document of 1251.

³⁹J. Ph. Thomas, “A Byzantine Ecclesiastical Reform Movement,” *MedHum* 12 (1984), 1–16; S. A. Bar-nalides, *Ὁ θεσμός τῆς χαριστικῆς (δωρεᾶς) τῶν μοναστηριῶν εἰς τοὺς Βυζαντινοὺς* (Thessalonike, 1985).

⁴⁰Ostrogorsky, *Pour l'histoire de la féodalité* (as in note 7), 356–68. On the Byzantine rent see also Laiou, *Peasant Society* (as in note 13), 215–22.

rent, even though we may surmise that money payment covered the major part of the rent. We know, however, that in many areas of Western Europe of the thirteenth to fifteenth century payment in coin was also predominant. It is more difficult to investigate the principle upon which the rent (or taxation) of the Byzantine peasant relied. In the historiography there are two different approaches to this problem: according to the traditional opinion, the Byzantine tax (or rent) was assessed on the basis of strict accounting so that all the elements of the household were taken into consideration—fields, vineyards, cattle and flock, fishing boats, plow teams, and the number of family members.⁴¹ The other view is that the *telos* or *teloumenon*, the main household payment, was imposed to some extent arbitrarily,⁴² as the tax or rent assessed upon the village community was distributed among its members. Without recasting the whole problem, I would like to dwell on two key points. One, we can observe a strange vasillation of the individual *teloumenon*; even within the same village the same amount of money was levied from households of different wealth, so that sometimes the poorer household was required to pay a larger percentage than its richer neighbors.⁴³ Two, in different villages different items of taxation appeared as the main denominator of the *teloumenon*—we cannot discover a general issue forming the foundation of the *telos* even throughout southern Macedonia, from which the *praktika* are relatively numerous.⁴⁴

In the second place, the price of land depended not only on the size of the allotment. The obvious fluctuation in prices might have been explained by two factors: on the one hand, supply and demand for land could introduce “correction” in the average price; on the other hand, documents neglect to indicate the quality of the purchased land even though we know that the Byzantines, at least in theory, had the idea of “three qualities” of the arable field.⁴⁵ It remains enigmatic why the notaries who compiled records and purchase deeds ignored such an important point and did not mention which of the “three qualities” defined the land in question—but we can disregard this riddle since we possess a document that shows us in detail how the Byzantine price of land could be determined.

The charter of 1271 from Thessaly records the transfer of a *stasis* (household) by a certain Michael Archontitzes and his family to “the most noble Komnenos Angelos kyr-

⁴¹ N. Svoronos, “Recherches sur le cadastre byzantin et la fiscalité aux XI^e et XII^e siècles: Le cadastre de Thèbes,” *BCH* 83 (1959), 129–41, reprinted in his *Etudes sur l'organisation intérieure, la société et l'économie de l'Empire byzantin* (London, 1973), pt. III; J. Lefort, “Fiscalité médiévale et informatique,” *RH* 252 (1974), 315–52.

⁴² A. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija v Vizantii XIII-XIV vv.* (Moscow, 1952), 138–56.

⁴³ Already in 1948, G. Ostrogorsky (“Vizantijskie piscovyje knigi,” *BSI* 9 [1948], 257) observed that in certain cases the relation between the property and taxation seemed to be arbitrary. His observation had little if any impact on the scholars who investigated the payments of Byzantine peasants.

⁴⁴ X. Chvostova, in her study of Byzantine *praktika*, came to a different conclusion than J. Lefort; she did not find a direct functional connection between the property and the amount of rent, even though she did not deny that the tax or rent of richer peasants was generally higher than that of the poorer neighbors. Her first calculations were published as far back as 1961—“Nekotorye voprosy feodal'noj renty po materialam Ivriskich praktikov,” *Vizantijskie očerki* (Moscow, 1961), 241–78. See now her book *Količestvennyj podchod v srednevekovoj social'noekonomičeskoj istorii* (Moscow, 1980), 120–48, with a critical analysis of Lefort's methodology.

⁴⁵ E. Schilbach, *Byzantinische Metrologie* (Munich, 1970), 249 f.

Nicholas Maliasenos" (i.e., Melissenos) and his spouse who decided to construct a monastery on this land. In this charter, Archontitzes announces that the noble couple might (or, as I prefer to put it, had the legal right to) obtain possession of the allotment "being our lords and masters," since the emperor granted the most noble Komnenos the whole district of Dryanoubaina, but righteous and Christ-loving as they were, the couple preferred to buy the *stasis* and paid Archontitzes, in the presence of the outstanding inhabitants of Dryanoubaina, twelve nomismata.⁴⁶

Thus we can see that the "human factor," or the social position of the agents, exercised an influence on the price of land; we can guess that the same "human factor" has influenced the rate of rent. This human factor stood beyond market economy and belonged to a system of values typical of a feudal society, which was organized more on the principle of personal links than on that of property, let alone market economy; the power of a man was assessed by the number of his vassals rather than acres of his land or pounds of his income.

Quasi-feudal relations as revealed in the form of rent and ownership had put their impact on human connections and values. Even though the Byzantine *paroikos*-tenant was not completely deprived of legal rights and could even appeal for justice to the imperial court, he was not a free man and an equal counteragent of his master.⁴⁷ The master was the judge of his *paroikoi* (at least, he could hold the lower court), their tax collector and administrator; the *paroikoi* were bound to the soil by their birth—the situation reflected in a late Byzantine term *physikoi paroikoi*, "natural settlers."⁴⁸ The status of *paroikia*—in contradiction to the biblical terminology—was conceived of as personal dependence, and the formative factor was the duty to pay rent or taxes to a private person. This principle is illustrated by the chrysobull given by the emperor Alexios I to his brother Adrianos Komnenos in 1084: the emperor transferred to Adrianos the taxes levied from the monks of the Lavra of St. Athanasios by the state, and the monks were apprehensive that it meant their transformation into Adrianos' *paroikoi*, who allegedly owned no land and paid their *demosia* through their lord; they asked the emperor to draw a clear line between them and the *paroikoi*.⁴⁹

On the other hand, quasi-feudal relations contributed to the elaboration of chivalresque ethics that included military ideals (and despisal of eunuchs as the other side of the coin) and personal fidelity;⁵⁰ Byzantine terminology used various words to designate

⁴⁶ Miklosich-Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca* (as in note 38), IV, 397 f.

⁴⁷ The ambivalence of the status of the Byzantine *paroikos* was demonstrated, among others, by Ostrogorsky, *Quelques problèmes* (as in note 7), 41–74.

⁴⁸ The term *παροικοὶ φυσικοὶ* is employed in the act of donation of 1384/5 given by Nicholas Pagases to the monastery of St. Paul on Mt. Athos (described by S. Binon, *Les origines légendaires et l'histoire de Xéropotamou et de Saint-Paul de l'Athos* [Louvain, 1942], 265–68). I published this text, with some lacunae, on the basis of a copy made by P. I. Sevast'janov—"Dva pozdnevizantijskich akta iz sobranija P.I. Sevast'janova," *VizVrem* 2 (1949), 318.28.

⁴⁹ *Actes de Lavra*, ed. P. Lemerle et al., 4 vols. (Paris, 1970–82), I, no. 46.

⁵⁰ Besides P. Magdalino's article cited in note 18, little was written on the Byzantine perception of chivalresque values. Some works dealing with the Crusaders can be helpful, however. See A. Tuilier, "Byzance et la féodalité occidentale. Les vertus guerrières des premiers croisés d'après l'Alexiade d'Anne Comnène," *La guerre et la paix, frontières et violences au moyen-âge* (Paris, 1978), 35–50; D. Jacoby, "Knightly Values and Class Consciousness in the Crusader States of the Eastern Mediterranean," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 1 (1986), 158–86.

these relationships—some inherited from classical antiquity, such as *philos*, friend;⁵¹ some formed parallel to Western terms, such as *anthropos* (i.e., *homo*, the man);⁵² and finally some directly borrowed from the Western vocabulary—for instance *lizios*, a version of Latin *ligius* (i.e., vassal).⁵³

There is a substantial difference between the private and the quasi-feudal relationships in Byzantium. Private ownership, market economy, and individualistic attitudes were in Byzantium a legacy from the Roman past; some “private” elements decreased during the crisis of the late Roman city in the seventh century, some, contrariwise, strengthened; there are serious reasons to assume that the nuclear family began to play a greater part by the eighth century than it had in the late Roman Empire.⁵⁴ Byzantine feudalism is a different case; we are unaware when these quasi-feudal economic, social, and moral principles appeared in Byzantium—some scholars hypothesized that they were accounted for by the Crusades and other avenues of Western penetration into Byzantium.⁵⁵ These tendencies are, however, older than the First Crusade, and we can observe their incipient formation by *l'an mil* when powerful aristocratic lineages came to the fore. The problem is aggravated by the lack of a general definition of aristocracy: certainly, not every aristocracy is feudal, and it is necessary to demonstrate that Byzantine aristocracy of the year thousand had feudal features. Let us assume, however—indeed very conventionally—that medieval military and landed aristocracy that was consolidating in the tenth century was a feudal (or quasi-feudal) group. At any rate, it is quite plausible to surmise that Byzantine aristocracy of warriors was as ancient as the Western nobility; the noble family names emerge in the West and in the East almost simultaneously. It is paradoxical that many famous lineages (Komnenoi, Kontostephanoi, Batatzai, Gabrades, Diogenai, Tornikoi, Synadenoi, and others) originated dur-

⁵¹ Among others, Niketas Choniates uses the word *φίλος* to designate “vassals” (ed. van Dieten 200.84, 469.50, 613.18, and so on), and *φιλία* in his vocabulary, could mean fealty (p. 228.44) and more often alliance (p. 61.66, 613.58, and other cases).

⁵² V. A. Arutjunova, “K voprosu ob *ἐνθροποι* v Tipike Grigorija Pakuriana,” *VizVrem* 29 (1968), 63–76; N. Oikonomides, “Οἱ αὐθένται τῶν Κορητικῶν τὸ 1118,” in *Pepragmena tou D' diethnous Kretologikou synedriou*, II (Athens, 1981), 313–17.

⁵³ Ja. Ferluga, “La ligesse dans l'Empire byzantin,” *ZRVI* 7 (1961), 97–123, reprinted in his *Byzantium on the Balkans* (Amsterdam, 1976), 399–425.

⁵⁴ The concept that family links became stronger in the 6th through 8th centuries, primarily under the influence of Christianity, was developed by H. Hunger, “Christliches und Nichtchristliches im byzantinischen Eherecht,” *Österreichisches Archiv für Kirchenrecht* 18 (1967), 305–25, reprinted in his *Byzantinische Grundlagenforschung* (London, 1973), pt. XI. W. C. Thompson, “Legal Reforms of the Iconoclastic Era: The Changing Economic Situation of the Family,” *Second Annual Byzantine Studies Conference* (Madison, Wis., 1976), 25, drew attention to the limitation of the power of the *paterfamilias* by the time of the *Ecloga*. D. Simon emphasized that the changes were occurring slowly rather than in the form of a radical reform—“Zur Ehegesetzgebung der Isaurier,” *Fontes Minores* 1 (Frankfurt, 1976), 35. See also K.-P. Matschke, “Bemerkungen zu den Mikro- und Makrostrukturen der spätbyzantinischen Gesellschaft,” *XVIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies. Major Papers* (Moscow, 1991), 155–61.

⁵⁵ Thus, G. Rouillard, *La vie rurale dans l'Empire byzantin* (Paris, 1953), 147, states directly that “les usages de la féodalité” were established in Byzantium by the conquerors-Crusaders. More complex was F. Dölger's position: he indicates that the economic development (the growth of the great landownership) was in Byzantium similar to that in the West but the political, economic, and social concepts acquired feudal shape in Byzantium under Western impact (F. Dölger, “Der Feudalismus in Byzanz,” *Vorträge und Forschungen* 5 [Lindau-Konstanz, 1960], 185 f).

ing the reign of Basil II (ca. 24 percent of all known military noble families), who is believed by the majority of scholars to be the archenemy of the landed aristocracy.⁵⁶

Thus it is probable that after the decline of the late Roman polis as well as all the institutions, social and economic forms, and cultural traditions linked to the polis, and before the formation of the new aristocracy of warriors and great landowners, Byzantium—like the West—knew a period when the small owners in the countryside, taxpayers and soldiers, were the leading force in society.⁵⁷ But unlike the West, the feudal forces in Byzantium remained weak, loose, and underdeveloped. They were curbed and curtailed by the third major phenomenon of Byzantine social structure—the state.

When we turn to the problem of the Byzantine state one point must be clarified from the very beginning: there is, probably, not a single scholar who would deny the exceptional role played by the state in the life of the Byzantine Empire. Everybody would delight in picturing scenes of the pompous court ceremonial or deplore the fate of honest patriarchs demoted by all-powerful *basileis*.⁵⁸ But as soon as we leave the stable floor of such external events and approach the material basis of imperial power we are in trouble: the vast majority of scholars reject any assumption that beneath this ceremonial and arbitrary imperial power lay a particular economic structure whose foundation was the state's supreme ownership, *dominium directum*, over the land tilled by the Byzantine population.⁵⁹ We just cannot imagine that the state's supreme ownership and private property could coincide and coexist without negating each other.

I tried hard to convince my opponents that the state's *dominium directum* did exist in Byzantium. My opponents prefer to speak of the state's sovereign rights to the individuals' land. Usually I am not stubborn as far as terminology is concerned—terminology is a question of convenience and convention, and we may agree to call the cat a mouse without changing its insidious nature. But in this case I would not take the bait; sovereignty is a right wielded by any state; what we need to emphasize, by image and by

⁵⁶ On Byzantine aristocracy see A. Kazhdan, *Social'nyj sostav gospodstvujuščego klassa Vizantii XI-XII vv.* (Moscow, 1974), with a French exposé by I. Sorlin, *TM* 6 (1976), 367–80. Ju. L. Bessmertnyj, in his review (*Istoriko-Filologičeskii Zhurnal* [1976], no. 2, 236–42), questions the methodology of my analysis. See also F. Winkelmann, *Quellenstudien zur herrschenden Klasse von Byzanz im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1987). Recently, N. Oikonomides ("Tax Exemptions for the Secular Clergy under Basil II," in *Kathegetria: Essays presented to Joan Hussey for her 80th Birthday* [Camberlay, Surrey, 1988], 317–26) also questioned the traditional perception of Basil's policy. He wrote (p. 325 f): "Basil II, the emperor who most of all defended the centralized state and fought against large landownership by trying to limit the privileges of the aristocracy and the church, ended up by introducing (or tolerating) measures that in fact precipitated the feudalization of the empire."

⁵⁷ The concept of the so-called pre-feudal period in Byzantium was suggested by M. Sjuzjumov in "Problemy ikonoborčestva" (as in note 11), 55–57. On the social structure of Byzantium of these centuries (610–867) see also P. A. Yannopoulos, *La société profane dans l'Empire byzantin des VIIe, VIIIe et IXe siècles* (Louvain, 1975).

⁵⁸ See a collection of articles in *Das byzantinische Herrscherbild*, ed. H. Hunger (Darmstadt, 1975), and esp. O. Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung im höfischen Zeremoniell* (Jena, 1938; repr. Darmstadt, 1956). See also E. Patlagean, "Les provinciaux, les fonctionnaires et le souverain à Byzance aux Xe-XIIe siècles," in *L'histoire comparée de l'administration* (Munich-Zurich, 1980), 246–53, and J. A. S. Evans, "Byzantine Kingship: The Claim of Dynastic Right," *Ancient World* 18 (1988), 49–55.

⁵⁹ See above, note 9. An important attempt to understand the role of the state in Byzantine economy is E. Patlagean, "'Economie paysanne' et 'féodalité byzantine,'" *Annales ESC* 6 (1975), 1371–96, reprinted in her *Structure sociale, famille, chrétienté à Byzance* (London, 1981), pt. III.

word, is the unique character of the attitude of the Byzantine state toward land, and some Byzantines, fortunately, not only endured this uniqueness but observed it and formulated it: in the tenth century, Symeon Metaphrastes, writing John Chrysostom's biography, exclaimed without hesitation that the Byzantines had "an evil habit" by which any land that the emperor entered could be proclaimed imperial property; the state could take it from the owner, compensating him with another parcel or with a "just price."⁶⁰ The evidence presented by Metaphrastes is valuable not only because it reveals how arbitrarily the state could intervene in private husbandry, but first and foremost since it demonstrates how some clever minds began to feel the impropriety of the "evil habit," its contradiction to "normal" forms of private property.

Thus every Byzantine landowner—the plain peasant, the quasi-feudal lord, the angelic community of monks or the bishopric—had over them the supreme owner, the state or its physical embodiment, the emperor. State ownership could be quite remote from a village of yokels lost in a tiny mountainous valley who toiled on the same soil for donkey's years bequeathing it to their children and their children's children, almost unaware of where Constantinople was located and who ruled there. Nevertheless, the state's supreme ownership materialized in some substantial ways. In the first place, the estate was conceived of in Byzantium not as the object of taxation but as the remuneration for payments and services; it means that in the eyes of the government, the levy was the basis and the land its derivative; in other words, the tax was imposed (on a village, individual, institution, and so on) and the land was measured out in accordance with the dues assessed. This principle had practical consequences: if during a tax revision the assessor discovered an incongruence between the revenue paid and the land possessed, the "excessive" land must be expropriated; on the other hand, neighbors summoned to pay taxes for the deserted allotments were granted rights to these allotments.⁶¹

Second, the well-being of the state was based on revenue collection.⁶² There was not a single state in medieval Europe whose economy was as state-oriented as it was in Byzantium. For many centuries, the majority of the population, both in the countryside and town, paid taxes directly to the treasury through fiscal officials; the ruling class was rewarded primarily by salary and presents from the treasury, and only gradually was this system partially replaced by grants of revenue quotas and later of estates. The treasury was rich, although its reserves fluctuated, reflecting the country's economic and political peaks and recessions. Only at the end of Byzantine history did the deep crisis of the state economy, aggravated by political crisis and the Ottoman invasion, lead to

⁶⁰ PG 114, col. 1156A.

⁶¹ The Treatise on Taxation describes the so-called equalization of land (ἰσάνωσις γῆς)—the redistribution of the land in accordance with the amount of the taxes paid (F. Dölger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung* [Leipzig-Berlin, 1927; repr. Hildesheim, 1960], 121 f); the division of a common property would be performed proportionally to the taxes (διὰ ποσοῦ τοῦ δημοσίου) paid by each party (*Peira* 37:2).

⁶² The classic study of Byzantine taxation is F. Dölger's book cited in note 61. See now W. Treadgold, *The Byzantine State Finances in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries* (New York, 1982), 51–61, and esp. N. Oikonomides, "De l'impôt de distribution à l'impôt de quotité à propos du premier cadastre byzantin," *ZRVI* 26 (1987), 9–19.

the bankruptcy of the treasury, the insolvency of the emperors, and the fall of the system.

Third, the state was entitled to manipulate both taxes and the land itself. The state regulated individual duties according to its volition—it could raise and lower charges. We hear complaints about ballooning levies during the reign of several emperors, for instance, Nikephoros II Phokas,⁶³ and, on the other hand, the fiscal office conferred upon individuals tax alleviations and tax privileges. Alleviations (the Byzantines used the term *kouphismos*, which had exactly the same etymology) were granted in the case of emergency and were of limited duration;⁶⁴ privileges or immunities (if we may use the word from the Western medieval terminology) were given to members of the ruling elite or to pious institutions and consisted either of a complete exemption or a lowering of the rate of taxation, so that a certain monastery, for example, was allowed to acquire more property than was accorded by the revenue assessed to it. These privileges or immunities originated from the person's valiance, the church's piety, or just from the corruption of the fiscal office. The Byzantine privilege or immunity, usually called *exkousseia*, encompassed, first of all, financial exemption and the prohibition of entering (Western *introitus*) the privileged estate; it referred to fiscal officials, primarily tax collectors of every kind, but rarely prevented the judges from wielding justice within the estate; the Western immunity was mainly juridical, its Byzantine counterpart, fiscal.⁶⁵

Another way of manipulating taxation was to levy farming taxes. Kekaumenos in the eleventh century strongly disapproved of this system, not because it created an additional burden for the population but because the farmer of state revenues took a personal responsibility and faced a jail term if he was unable to meet the agreed requirement.⁶⁶

Since the state or the emperor was considered the supreme owner of the whole territory of the empire, the state or emperor was entitled to confiscate private property. Neither the magnates nor the church institutions were exempt from foreclosure; the case of the magistros Eustathios Maleinos, who was hospitable to Emperor Basil II and who was deprived of all his estates⁶⁷ (I would like to recall the Byzantine "evil habit" that Basil II could exercise after having entered Maleinos' land), shows how the Byzantine emperor wielded his right to confiscation. Documents list various cases of lands either

⁶³ Skylitzes narrates (*Synopsis historiarum*, ed. I. Thurn [Berlin-New York, 1973], 274.47–48) that Nikephoros became hateful to his subjects due to the augmentation of taxes.

⁶⁴ The Treatise on Taxation (ed. F. Dölger [as in note 61], 119.19–30) describes *κουφισμός*. On various forms of tax alleviations see Litavrin, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo* [as in note 9], 206–14, and N. Oikonomides, "Das Verfalland im 10.-11. Jahrhundert: Verkauf und Besteuerung," *Fontes Minores*, 7 (1986), 161–68.

⁶⁵ The major article on the topic is Ostrogorsky's "Pour l'histoire de l'immunité" (cited in note 7), in which the author considered Byzantine *exkousseia* as almost identical with the Western *immunitas*; on the other hand, I tried to emphasize the distinction between these institutions—"Ekskussija i ekskussaty v Vizantii X-XII vv.," *Vizantijskie očerki* (Moscow, 1961), 186–216. See now also H. Melovski, "Einige Probleme der Exkousseia," *JÖB* 32.2 (1982), 361–68.

⁶⁶ Kekaumenos (*Sovety i rasskazy Kekaumena*, ed. G. Litavrin [Moscow, 1972], 196) tells the story of a relative of his, John Maios by name, who farmed the *episkepsis* Arrabisos but turned out to be unable to collect 60 litrae that he was obliged to provide; he remained in jail until his death.

⁶⁷ Skylitzes, ed. I. Thurn, 340.88–95.

confiscated or forcibly exchanged by the state.⁶⁸ More complicated were the state's attempts to get hold of ecclesiastical gold reserves stocked in the form of liturgical vessels. The liturgical vessels belonged to God even more than the church land; canon law unequivocally prohibited their seizure.⁶⁹ But in the case of emergency, under Herakleios in the seventh century and under Alexios I in the late eleventh century,⁷⁰ the state compelled the church to give up its riches; it is possible that the iconoclast rulers, Leo III and Constantine V, exercised a similar policy toward monastic wealth.⁷¹

The state's intervention in private business was not limited to the sphere of land, taxes, and liturgical vessels. It included a broad range of economic activities, of which we usually obtain but patchy data.

It was the state (and not the petty feudal lords) which controlled, via customs, the trade activity.⁷² Time and again the state rejuvenated trade monopolies: the eleventh-century *phoundax* at Rhaedesto, where the local grain growers were obliged to bring their crop, is a striking example of monopoly dealing with stock product.⁷³ The trade of weaponry, silk, and wine was more or less controlled by the state. To some extent the state controlled craftsmanship.⁷⁴ Certain industries were organized and directed by state officials: building activity (fortifications, churches, aqueducts, and so on), ship-building, mining, minting, production of special types of jewelry and purple silk. Prob-

⁶⁸ The right of confiscation in Byzantium deserves a special study. G. Monks ("The Administration of the Privy Purse," *Speculum* 32 [1957], 755–63), dealing with the data from the late Roman Empire, considered the cases of confiscation as corruption perpetrated by the advocates of the fisc, whereas I tried to demonstrate that in Byzantium it was a part of the regular practice (Kazhdan, *Social'nyj sostav* [as in note 56], 230–33). Litavrin (*Vizantijskoe obščestvo* [as in note 9], 23 f) rejects, however, my argumentation.

⁶⁹ Byzantine theologians stressed not only the relation between the image and the prototype (a common position elaborated during the iconoclastic disputes) but also between the material of the image and the represented prototype—see P. Stephanou, "La doctrine de Léon de Chalcédoine et de ses adversaires sur les images," *OCP* 112 (1946), 177–99.

⁷⁰ Herakleios received the "loan" from the church that included lamps of Saint Sophia and other vessels (Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, 2 vols. [Leipzig 1883–85; repr. Hildesheim, 1963], 303.1–2); this transaction ran peacefully owing to the support of the patriarch Sergios (A. Stratos, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, I [Amsterdam, 1968], 126 f; J. L. van Dieten, *Geschichte der Patriarchen von Sergios I. bis Johannes VI.* (Amsterdam, 1972), 10 f), whereas Alexios I's attempt to use ecclesiastical vessels for the defense of the empire against the Normans came across the resistance of Leo of Chalcedon and other church leaders—see A. Glabinas, *Ἡ ἐπὶ Ἀλεξίου Κομνηνοῦ (1081–1118) περὶ ἱερῶν σκευῶν, κειμηλίων καὶ ἁγίων εἰκόνων ἐρῶς* (1081–1095) (Thessalonike, 1972).

⁷¹ The hypothesis was launched by Sjuzjumov, "Problemy ikonoborčestva" (as in note 11), 101–5.

⁷² The problem of Byzantine "étatisme" has been hotly discussed in the first half of this century; some scholars, esp. J. Nicole and A. Stöckle, described this étatisme as a negative factor that caused the decline of Byzantine trade and craftsmanship; on the other hand, A. Andreades, G. Mickwitz, and R. S. Lopez interpreted the state's economic intervention as a positive phenomenon advantageous for the commercial development—see among others, G. Mickwitz, *Die Kartellfunktionen der Zünfte und ihre Bedeutung bei der Entstehung des Zunftwesens* (Helsingfors, 1936), 207 f. Nobody doubted that the state had had control over the trade activity.

⁷³ Attaleiates, *Historia*, Bonn ed. (1853), 202 f.

⁷⁴ R. S. Lopez ("Silk Industry in the Byzantine Empire," *Speculum* 20 [1945], 13 f, reprinted in his *Byzantium and the World around It* [London, 1978], pt. III) thought that the state monopoly of the silk production disappeared after Justinian I and was replaced by the system of "private guilds." The latter unquestionably existed but (a) side by side with them worked state workshops, and (b) the private guilds stood under the check and control of state officials. The Continuator of Skylitzes (ed. Eu. Th. Tsolakes [Thessalonike, 1968], 103.7–8) conveys that Isaac I Komnenos appointed many elders (lit. "care-takers," φροντιστάι) of the state guilds; they evidently existed in the eleventh century.

ably there were state manufactures where the labor of war prisoners and criminals was exploited, but mostly the state distributed orders so that a theme was commanded to supply a prescribed amount of weaponry, or leather workers were sent to do the job for the state. The working process remained individual but its direction was in the hands of bureaucrats. Even those ateliers that were not directly involved in the state orders stood under control of the administration, at least in Constantinople of the tenth century when the so-called *Book of the Eparch* was compiled,⁷⁵ probably under Leo VI: the eparch of the capital and his staff were entitled to control the quality and the price of the product as well as conditions in the workshops; a special institution of the *bothroi*, market inspectors, supervised the trade of cattle and sheep.

At the very threshold of Byzantine history, Emperor Diocletian issued an edict regulating the prices of a great variety of manufactured goods throughout the empire.⁷⁶ Many studies have appeared showing that Diocletian's regulation was a failure and the real marketing was different from the edict's prescription. This is probably true, but the elements of the free price fluctuation do not annihilate the principle reflected in Diocletian's edict and later in the *Book of the Eparch*: the state considered itself capable of controlling the market. The idea of the just price on land that permeates tenth-century agrarian legislation belonged to the same system of economic views—the state attempted to limit the excessive raising of prices due to economic predicament or the economic and political pressure of the powerful over his weaker neighbors.

The Byzantine economy was very complex. Its substructure was based on private ownership and private enterprise, the nuclear family forming the main economic unit. We have no statistical data but it is plausible that the role of the nuclear family increased after the fall of the late Roman Empire. There were multiple forms of communal rights, but they rarely encompassed the factual process of production: they assumed the shape of neighbors' rights and obligations, or were structured as collective rights to water, forest, or pasture; finally, they appear as *societates*, loose and temporary societies for trade purposes.⁷⁷ The guilds and fraternities known from various sources fulfilled administrative and ceremonial rather than economic functions.⁷⁸

Nevertheless, Byzantium was not a society of free private owners and producers. The state's *dominium directum* was built up over the system of private households, and the state's control over trade was active, if not always beneficial. The state's economic superstructure was a phenomenon well known in the late Roman Empire, and it remained strong at least through the twelfth century. The state's economic superstructure did not contradict private enterprise but smoothly coexisted with it, and their collabo-

⁷⁵ The best edition is by M. Sjuzjumov, *Vizantijskaja kniga eparcha* (Moscow, 1962), with Russian translation and a thorough commentary. On the *bothroi* see now J. Koder, "Wer andern eine Grube gräbt . . .," in *Fest und Alltag in Byzanz* (Munich, 1990), 71–76.

⁷⁶ M. Giaccherio, *Edictum Diocletiani et collegarum de pretiis rerum venalium*, 2 vols. (Genoa, 1974). See idem, "Il modo della produzione e del lavoro nell'edictum de pretiis," in *Studi in onore di A. Biscardi*, VI (Milan, 1987), 121–32.

⁷⁷ N. Oikonomidès, *Hommes d'affaire grecs et latins à Constantinople* (Montreal, 1979), 68–83; M. Ja. Sjuzjumov, "Ekonomičeskie vozzrenija L'va VI," *VizVrem* 15 (1959), 41 f.

⁷⁸ On fraternities see J. Nesbitt and J. Wiita, "A Confraternity of the Comnenian Era," *BZ* 68 (1975), 360–84; O. Horden, "The Confraternities of Byzantium," in W. J. Sheils and D. Wood, *Voluntary Religion* (Oxford, 1986), 25–45.

ration was, for a certain period, the cornerstone of Byzantine economic predominance in medieval Europe.

Like the Greco-Roman municipal organization that died out by the seventh century in the East and even earlier in the West, the state-organized private economy of Byzantium had its limitations. In the twelfth century Byzantium was wealthy, flourishing, and civilized, but the “wild” West was active. Byzantium opened the path for two major elements that determined Western development—new urbanistic and feudal organization—but neither turned out to develop properly: no Byzantine town achieved communal independence and no feudal army evolved; Komnenian “perestroika” was stifled by Andronikos I and the efforts of John III Batatzes by the Palaiologan “grand idea.” Byzantine feudalism came too late when it could do too little, and the ephemeral success under the Komnenoi and Laskarids gave way to the tragic disintegration of the country during the Palaiologan centuries.

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Author(s): Alexander Kazhdan

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The Italian and Late Byzantine City

ALEXANDER KAZHDAN

Max Weber's typological characterization of the city is not very popular with scholars of Byzantium, even though we follow, albeit tacitly, his major observation—the contrast between the ancient and medieval city, or, expressed in economists' terms, between the city of producers (*Produzentenstadt*) and that of consumers (*Konsumentenstadt*).¹ It is a traditional view of Byzantinists that on the main territory of the empire the ancient city survived,² and even Ernest Kirsten, who acknowledges the so-called urban crisis of the seventh century, drastically contrasts late Byzantine urban centers with those of western Europe. In his words, “the Byzantine empire of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries still stood on the niveau that was . . . achieved in North Italy in the tenth century.”³ The independence of individual regions, he emphasizes, was based here not on trade “as it was in Western Europe,” but on the military needs of defense; the urban privileges mention no craftsmen or merchants or organs of self-administration. The urban patriciate was yet to be developed; “unlike Venetian territories” Byzantium had no special privileges for the city nobility, and the *Bürger* remained primarily the owner of land. In the same manner Michael Angold characterizes the late Byzantine cities as “centers of consumption” and “communities of landowners.”⁴

A. E. Laiou, K.-P. Matschke, N. Necipoğlu, and an anonymous reader scanned this paper and corrected many of my mistakes. To all of them I am extremely grateful. If some errors remain, the fault is not theirs but mine.

¹M. Weber, *The City*, English tr. Don Martindale and G. Neuwirth (New York-London, 1958), 80 f. For a good analysis of Weber's views on the city, see A. I. Neusychin, *Problemy evropejskogo feodalizma* (Moscow, 1974), 464–95. H. Samsonowicz (“Les villes d'Europe centrale à la fin du moyen-âge,” *Annales* 43 [1988], 173) calls Weberian models of European and Asian cities “provocative.” For a critical evaluation of Weber's theory from the position of modern medieval studies, see D. Herlihy, *Cities and Society in Medieval Italy* (London, 1980), art. XI, pp. 174–81; on Weber's views on market capitalism in antiquity and the development of urban life in the Middle Ages, see J. R. Love, *Antiquity and Capitalism: Max Weber and the Sociological Foundation of Roman Civilization* (London-New York, 1991), 211–45.

²F. Dölger, *Die frühbyzantinische und byzantinisch beeinflusste Stadt* (Spoleto, 1958), 4. The concept of the preservation of the ancient polis in Byzantium was defended consistently by M. Ja. Sjuzjumov. See, on him, M. A. Poljakovskaja, *Ocenka perioda genezisa vizantijskogo feodalizma v trudach M. Ja. Sjuzjumova. Antičnaja drevnost' i srednie veka* (Sverdlovsk, 1988), 13–16.

³E. Kirsten, “Die byzantinische Stadt,” *Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten Kongress* (Munich, 1958), III, 36.

⁴*Ibid.*, 35–40; M. Angold, “The Shaping of the Medieval Byzantine ‘City,’” *ByzF* 10 (1985), 35–37. According to A. Harvey (*Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire: 900–1200* [Cambridge, 1989], 202), “Byzantine towns, like their late Roman predecessors were centers for the consumption of surplus wealth appropriated from the rural economy.” In the same vein, Z. V. Udalcova (“Les villes de l'Empire byzantin et des

In fact, there are many features that allow us to contrast city life in Byzantium in the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries and that in northern Italy of the same time: Italian towns became independent communities, while the late Byzantine city was subject to the central administration; Italian merchants dominated over a significant part of the Mediterranean, including the Byzantine Empire itself, whereas we hear so little about Byzantium's trade expansion; the advanced Italian towns created banks, trade companies, and manufacture, whereas in Byzantium the marks of the "new" economy were barely noticed; and, certainly, with all respect to Byzantine scholars and painters of the fourteenth century, they did not attain the brilliance of the Florentine Renaissance.

The north Italian economy of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries has been frequently characterized as "capitalist" or at least "pre-capitalist," whereas few scholars would dare accept these epithets for late Byzantium. It is not simple to define the notion of pre-capitalism, and I shall avoid doing so here. If I nevertheless use it eventually, due to a slip of the pen or for the sake of convenience, I shall mean the situation "as it existed in Florence." I understand that this is not a scientific definition, but I have no better one, and I anticipate that it will suffice for my modest purposes. The real problem, however, is not in terminology. The problem is whether this obvious contrast between Byzantium and Italy should be interpreted as the sign of typological diversity or as no more than variegations within one and the same typological pattern. Two points must be stressed before we turn to the investigation of concrete source material.

In the first place, the Western medieval town cannot be considered uniform: the studies of recent decades have placed emphasis on the multiformity of the genesis of the medieval town and of its economic, political, and social organization. On the one hand, scholars posited the existence of numerous "urban landscapes" (*Stadtlandschaften*) in western Europe: thus Edith Ennen lists six main "urban landscapes," namely that of the Mediterranean, Bordeaux, the area between the Seine River and the Rhine, the Hanseatic region, Freiberg in Saxony, and southern Germany. In Italy alone she itemizes three "sub-landscapes": northern maritime centers (Genoa, Pisa, and Venice), the continental cities of Tuscany (Florence and its neighbors), and Naples as an "early capital."⁵ This geographic cataloguing has the advantage of objectivity: nobody will doubt that Genoa was a maritime center located in northern Italy or that Florence was the economic and cultural hub of Tuscany. The objectivity, however, begins to shatter as soon as we ask whether all the Tuscan towns bore the same character, and whether, for instance, Florence and Pistoia belonged to the same urban landscape.

Dissatisfaction with the purely geographic cataloguing of urban landscapes led, on the other hand, to attempts to categorize medieval towns on the basis of sociological models; an effort of this kind was made by the Soviet scholar Vera Stoklickaja-Tereškovič, in an article entitled "The Problem of Variety of the Medieval Guild in the West and in Rus',"⁶ Rus' evidently being added for patriotic rather than scholarly reasons. According

pays de l'Europe occidentale au moyen-âge [observation typologiques]," *Byzantina* 13.2 [1985], 1,550 f) stresses a radical contrast between "the incessant upsurge of the urban centers" in the West and the inability of the Byzantine cities to transform "the feudal economy of the country."

⁵E. Ennen, *Die europäische Stadt des Mittelalters* (Göttingen, 1972), 149–98. I was unable to use the fourth edition of the book (Göttingen, 1987).

⁶V. V. Stoklickaja-Tereškovič. "Problema mnogoobrazija srednevekovogo cecha na Zapade i na Rusi," *Srednie veka* 3 (1951), 74–102.

to Stoklickaja-Tereškovič, two major factors determined the structure of the medieval guild (and subsequently of the medieval urban economy)—the guild hierarchy (two tier or three tier) and state control over production and trade. It is not my intention now to test Stoklickaja-Tereškovič's conclusions; suffice it to say that the principle of modeling allows us to organize the data on medieval urban life beyond the physical neighborhood. We may expect, for instance, a structural similarity between Dubrovnik and remote Hanseatic Lübeck or between Constantinople and Paris.

In the second place, modern scholarship questions the traditional "Romantic" idea of a sharp opposition between the medieval town and the feudal countryside; the town and the rural environment were two elements of the same structure, closely interwoven rather than opposed to each other.⁷

If modern scholarship seems to have mitigated the Weberian opposition of the European (Italian) and Asiatic (Byzantine) city, there is one item that makes comparison of Italian and Byzantine cities of the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries extremely embarrassing—the drastic difference with regard to the source material. The scholar of the Italian city has no reason to lament a shortage of sources; his concern is to find in the "large and heterogenous mass of data a sound basis for generalization."⁸ The Byzantinist does not have at his disposal sources of the kind of the Florentine Catasto of 1427, which, with all its shortcomings taken into consideration, supplies the historian with complete data on taxes, property, and household structures in the city and its vicinity, or Ricordi, domestic chronicles that survived by the hundreds. The Byzantinist nibbles his food from dispersed and isolated texts, sometimes documentary, sometimes narrative, often from Italian informants, and is doomed, by the character of his sources, to restrain from asking the questions that are natural for Italian counterparts.

Some of these questions are of first-rate importance, especially those relating to the organization of production. We have detailed knowledge of the organization of Florentine manufacture, but did manufacture exist in Byzantium? To the best of my knowledge, this question has not even been raised by Western Byzantinists, whereas Soviet scholars have discussed it ardently, with Valentin Smetanin being the main proponent of the idea that Byzantium created the manufactural type of production and Igor Medvedev denying its existence.⁹ The sources for this subject are scanty, if not nonexistent. Smetanin's main argument is a sentence in Akropolites,¹⁰ who asserted that in large poleis of the Nicaean empire there were craftsmen producing for a payment (ἐπὶ μισθῷ) bows, arrows, and other weaponry; their production was stored (ἀποτιθέντας) in superabundant quantity in the state storehouses. There is not a single word in Akropolites concerning manufactural organization: weaponry was fabricated by individual craftsmen and thereafter

⁷O. Brunner, "Stadt und Bürgertum in der europäischen Geschichte," in his *Neue Wege der Sozialgeschichte* (Göttingen, 1956), 80–97, was one of the most efficient critics of this "Romantic idea." D. Herlihy, whose works are abundantly quoted below, applied this "anti-Romantic" approach to the cities of Italy, particularly those of Tuscany.

⁸D. Herlihy, *The Social History of Italy and Western Europe, 700–1500* (London, 1978), art. vii, p. 174.

⁹I. P. Medvedev, "The Problem of So-called Byzantine Manufacture," *Byzantiaka* 9 (1989), 207–28, where a vast bibliography is collected; V. A. Smetanin, "Osobennosti gorodskogo remesla v Vizantii XIII–XV vekov i vosstanie naemnykh rabočich v Konstantinopole v 1372–1373 godach," *Srednevekovyj gorod* 6 (Saratov, 1981), 134–36. In the same fascicle is published a note by V. N. Zavražin, "K voprosu o pozdnevizantijskoj manufakture" (p. 136 f), critical of Smetanin's thesis.

¹⁰*Georgii Acropolitae opera*, ed. A. Heisenberg, I (Leipzig, 1903), 285.15–22.

gathered in *demosioi oikoi*. The same system existed in Byzantium earlier, and had nothing in common with “pre-capitalist” production in Florence.

The Italian textile industry dominated the Constantinopolitan market. Klaus-Peter Matschke quite ingeniously demonstrates that the situation in Thessalonike was more beneficial for local producers; he surmises that the weavers of the sumptuous imperial attire in the fourteenth century worked in their individual workshops and attained substantial social prestige.¹¹ But what was the quality of their production in comparison with Italian goods? The Greek and Italian sources gathered by Matschke seem to be silent with respect to this question, but there is a French document, omitted by Matschke, that sheds unexpected light on the subject: the French king Louis XI settled in Tours in 1470 a group of artisans, producers of silk cloth, invited from Italy and Greece (then occupied by the Turks), among whom was a woman;¹² in the eyes of the French ruler, there was no cardinal difference between Italian and Greek craftsmen, at any rate between those who were involved in the fabrication of sumptuous silks.

Another important indicator of “pre-capitalist” development was the achievements of metallurgy. Decisive progress in the technology of metallurgy took place in Lombardy beginning in the thirteenth century.¹³ We practically know nothing of what was happening in the Byzantine mining industry and metal production during this period.¹⁴ Closer to the Byzantine frontier than Lombardy lay the mines of Serbia, of which Novo Brdo was the most significant.¹⁵ The Byzantines knew this center of metallurgy; Kritoboulos of Imbros describes it as a fortified and rich town where a great amount of silver and gold was “cultivated.”¹⁶ To what extent Novo Brdo, which flourished in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, had an impact on Byzantium we can only hypothesize.

In order to demonstrate the drastic difference in the Byzantine and Western approaches to technological innovations, scholars often refer to the letter dispatched by Bessarion to the despot of Morea in 1444 in which the cardinal praises Western glass, textiles, weapons, ships, and especially water wheels operating both sawmills and the bellows of blast furnaces.¹⁷ Certainly, the level of technology in fifteenth-century Italy was

¹¹K.-P. Matschke, “Tuchproduktion und Tuchproduzenten in Thessalonike und in anderen Städten und Regionen der späten Byzanz,” *Byzantiaka* 9 (1989), 47–87. Compare also his very interesting observations on the “flexibility” of the late Byzantine artisanal family—one craftsman could combine different professions, the son was not obliged to follow his father’s craft, and so on: idem, “Bemerkungen zu den Mikro- und Makrostrukturen der spätbyzantinischen Gesellschaft,” *XVIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies: Major Papers* (Moscow, 1991), 157–60. On the earlier stage of the Byzantine textile industry, see D. Jacoby, “Silk in Western Byzantium before the Fourth Crusade,” *BZ* 84/85 (1991/92), 452–500.

¹²Eug. Müntz, “Les artistes byzantins dans l’Europe latine du Ve au XVe siècle,” *Revue de l’art chrétien* 36 (May 1893), 190.

¹³F. Menant, “Pour une histoire médiévale de l’entreprise minière en Lombardie,” *Annales* 42 (1987), 779.

¹⁴The pioneering work in the field is by S. Vryonis “The Question on the Byzantine Mines,” *Speculum* 37 (1962), 1–17. Since, extensive material has been collected by K.-P. Matschke, “Zum Anteil der Byzantiner an der Bergbauentwicklung und an den Bergbauerträgen Südosteuropas im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert,” *BZ* 84/85 (1991/92), 49–71. His conclusion, however, is very pessimistic: “Byzanz konnte sehr wahrscheinlich keinen nennenswerten eigenen Bergbau mehr entwickeln.”

¹⁵M. J. Dinić, *Za istoriju rudarstva u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji i Bosni* (Belgrade, 1962), 27–67.

¹⁶*Critobuli Imbriotae Historiae*, ed. D. R. Reinsch (Berlin-New York, 1983), 98.10–12; cf. Ducas, *Istoria turco-bizantina*, ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest, 1958), 263.1.

¹⁷L. White, *Medieval Religion and Technology* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 1978), 223 f. White explains Bessarion’s technological interest by the fact that he “had become Latinized in more than his religion.”

higher than in Constantinople, but Bessarion's letter has another aspect as well: it shows that the Byzantine classicist and theologian was not alien to technological advancement and overtly admitted their importance for the survival of Morea.

Our written data on Byzantine craftsmanship are sketchy. The best that can be done (and some scholars have done it) is to establish lists of artisanal professions mentioned in Byzantine and Italian sources.¹⁸ Unfortunately, this work has not yet been completed: had we compared these lists with the series of artisanal professions in the tenth through twelfth centuries we might already have some results; by so doing we could, at least, answer the question whether the division of labor in late Byzantium remained the same as in previous centuries or whether we can observe a progression (regression?) in industrial organization. At the same time, a comparison with catalogues of artisanal professions in advanced Italian cities could have provided us with the means of comparing the two economies. Such a listing, however, would be of very relative significance, since Byzantine terminology was imprecise, and the existence of different terms does not always demonstrate the existence of a developed division of labor.

We know more about Byzantine trade than about craftsmanship. Extensive material on this topic has been collected by Angeliki Laiou,¹⁹ whose 1980/81 article on this topic consists of two parts. The conclusion of the first part is described by the author herself as "sad." She states: "The Byzantine economy had first entered the international market of the Eastern Mediterranean in the thirteenth century when this market was being developed. The Byzantines participated in the economy of exchange. Some made money out of it, but they did not control it; their economic activities were secondary and tied to the dominant Italian merchant capital" (p. 216). The second part is a supplement written after the article was accepted for publication and is based on sources that had then only recently become available, particularly the newly discovered register of Genoese notary Antonio di Ponzò;²⁰ these documents, she stresses, do "make a difference" (p. 217). This difference, or new conclusions, is formulated as follows: "One [conclusion] is that Thrace

¹⁸N. Oikonomidès, *Hommes d'affaires grecs et latins à Constantinople (XIIIe-XVe siècles)* (Montreal-Paris, 1979), 94–107; V. A. Smetanin, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo XIII–XV vekov po dannym epistolografii* (Sverdlovsk, 1987), 76–100; S. P. Karpov, *Trapezundskaja imperija i zapadnoevropejskie gosudarstva v XIII–XV vv.* (Moscow, 1981), 27–29 (for the Italian translation: *L'impero di Trebizonda, Genova e Roma, 1204–1461* [Rome, 1986]). The information is based primarily on Italian documents of 1292: "I conti dell'ambasciata al chan di Persia nel MCCXCII," *Atti della società ligure di storia patria* 13 (1877–84).

¹⁹A. E. Laiou-Thomadakis, "The Byzantine Economy in the Mediterranean Trade System: Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries," *DOP* 34/35 (1980/81), 177–222; reprinted in her *Gender, Society and Economic Life in Byzantium* (Ashgate, 1992), art. VII. On the commercial relations of the Greeks in Constantinople with the Venetian and Genoese merchants, see also her "Un notaire vénitien à Constantinople: Antonio Bresciano et le commerce international en 1350," in M. Balard, A. E. Laiou and C. Otten-Froux, *Les Italiens à Byzance* (Paris, 1987), 89 f. Cf. also B. Krekić, *Dubrovnik, Italy and the Balkans in the Late Middle Ages* (London, 1980), art. xv, pp. 187–91; S. P. Karpov, "Ital'janskaja trgovlja v Trapezunde i ee vozdejstvie na ekonomiku pozdnevizantijskogo goroda," *VizVrem* 44 (1983), 81–87; cf. idem, "Torgovlja zernom v Južnom Pričernomor'e," *VizVrem* 50 (1989), 26–35, and the English version, "The Grain Trade in the Southern Black Sea Region: The Thirteenth to the Fifteenth Century," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 8 (1993), 55–73. The social importance of the marketplace in the late Byzantine town is underlined by A. Kioussopoulou, "Lieux de communication et ville byzantine tardive," *BSI* 54 (1993), 285.

²⁰M. Balard, "Notes sur les ports du Bas-Danube au XI^e siècle," *Südost* 38 (1979), 1–12. Since then, other Italian archives have become available: see, e.g., Balard, Laiou, and Otten-Froux, *Les Italiens à Byzance*; A. Roccatagliata, *Notai genovesi in Oltremare: Atti rogati a Pera e Mitilene*, 2 vols. (Genoa, 1982); M. Balard, *Notai genovesi in Oltremare* (Genoa, 1983–86); L. Balletto, *Notai genovesi in Oltremare* (Genoa, 1989).

seems to have exported grain in the late fourteenth century, something one would not have expected. Secondly, the Byzantine aristocracy and the Emperor himself . . . were involved in trade with the Genoese in this period, including trade in grain" (p. 220). Moreover, Laiou paints "a vivid picture of Greek traders and financiers who were in close connection with each other and with the Genoese" (p. 221). In other words, new publications made our perception of Byzantine trading activity, especially after the 1360s, less "sad," and this historiographical trend deserves an elaboration.

We have no Byzantine account books that can be compared to the Italian *libri dei conti*, one of which, that of Giacomo Badoer, is a unique source for the study of Constantinopolitan trade in 1436–40.²¹ The fragments of Greek ledgers that are available give us catalogues of goods traded,²² but not of the volume of merchandise in circulation. Some occasional figures can be gathered from patriarchal documents: thus, we read about a deposit of squirrel fur from Vlachia that was eventually sold (ca. 1400) for 587 hyperpyra; another document of the same time gives the estimate of the value of *tzoches* (woolen textile) stolen from an *ergasterion*—700 hyperpyra.²³ Certainly, these figures cannot be compared with the annual turnover of Badoer (approximately 126,000 hyperpyra), but we have to take into consideration that they reflect only a part of the merchandise dealt with in each case.

We know very little about Byzantine banking, whereas Italian banking can be studied in detail;²⁴ debts and especially *hypothekai* often appear in the acts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but we are unable to judge whether these credit operations were typical medieval transactions, borrowing in the case of necessity that led, in the final account, to the ruin of debtor,²⁵ or "pre-capitalist" productive loans. Recently D. Gofas drew attention to the fact that bills of exchange existed on Crete in the fourteenth century,²⁶ but we do not know whether their use was limited to (Venetian) Crete or whether they were introduced into Byzantine banking operations as well. While Italy dared to praise avarice, without which, in the words of Poggio Bracciolini, "society would

²¹ *Il libro dei conti di Giacomo Badoer*, ed. U. Dorini and T. Bertelè (Rome, 1956). See on this, M. M. Šitikov, "Konstantinopol' i venecianskaja torgovlja v pervoj polovine XV v. po dannym knigi šchetov Džakomo Badoera," *VizVrem* 30 (1969), 48–62.

²² See, e.g., P. Schreiner, "Kupcy i tovary Pričernomor'ja: fragment vizantijskoj kontorskoj knigi," *Byzantinobulgarica* 7 (1981), 218, and particularly materials gathered in his monograph, *Texte zur spätbyzantinischen Finanz- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte in Handschriften der Bibliotheca Vaticana* (Vatican City, 1991). I am grateful to Prof. K.-P. Matschke, who called my attention to this book.

²³ F. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, 6 vols. (Vienna, 1860–90), 2: 375.7–13, 378.12–13. Another example is Oikonomidès, *Hommes d'affaires*, 64.

²⁴ For instance, E. D. English, *Enterprise and Liability in Sieneese Banking, 1230–1350* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988).

²⁵ On the medieval "Notkredite," see H. J. Gilomen, "Wucher und Wirtschaft im Mittelalter," *HZ* 250 (1990), 290–94.

²⁶ D. Gofas, "Ἐμπορικὲς ἐπιχειρήσεις Ἑλλήνων τῆς Κρήτης γύρω στὸ 1300. Πεπραγμένα ΣΤ' διεθνoῦς κρητολογικοῦ συνεδρίου, II (Chaina, 1991), 1–34; "Ἐνας πρόδρομος τῆς συναλλαγματικῆς ἐκδομένος ἀπὸ Ἑλληνα ἔμπορο τὸ 1300. Τόμος τιμητικὸς Κ.Μ. Τριανταφύλλου (Patrai, 1990), 209–19; "Μιὰ ἀπόφαση τοῦ Δοῦκα τῆς Κρήτης τοῦ δεκάτου τετάρτου αἰῶνα σχετικὴ μὲ μιὰ συναλλαγματικὴ," Ἐπιθεώρηση τοῦ ἐμπορικοῦ δικαίου 33 (1982), 341–52. I am grateful to Prof. A. Laiou, who drew my attention to these articles. S. P. Karpov ("Kredit v sisteme ital'janskoj torgovli v Južnom Pričernomor'e [XIII–XV vv.], *VizVrem* 49 [1988], 40–49) emphasizes that various forms of credit existed on the territory of Pontus and Paphlagonia, but all the documents at his disposal are Italian, and we cannot discard the possibility that developed types of credit encompassed, exclusively or primarily, Italian communities.

lack cities and all the amenities of urban life,”²⁷ Byzantine moralists kept condemning usury.²⁸

Byzantine partnerships, called *syntrophiai* (the Greek translation of *societas* or *compagnia*?), are well attested in the documents of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.²⁹ Again we face a difficulty: was the late Byzantine *syntrophia* a new (“pre-capitalist”) phenomenon, somehow equivalent to Western *commenda* or *colleganza*, or did this institution exist, without substantial changes, throughout the entire history of the empire?

We do not have sufficient evidence to postulate the existence of late Byzantine guilds, let alone to study the particular features of this institution. Nicolas Oikonomides is, however, certain that the system of guilds existed in Constantinople and Thessalonike of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and even suggests that the heads of guilds were not, at that time, imperial appointees (as in the tenth century), but rather patrons of their colleagues and organizers of production—“capitalists” as he puts it, enclosing the term in quotation marks.³⁰ Unfortunately, what we know about late Byzantine corporations is only a series of designations—*protomakellarios*, *protomaistor*, *protalykarios*; probably, the case of *protalykarios*/*protalykares* is an exception that allows for better insight into Byzantine corporate organization.

The term *protalykarios* appears in a single document from Thessalonike dated 1415. The document is a stipulation of the operators (διεπεργοῦντες) of the salt pan (άλική) to pay 100 aspra annually to the hieromonk of the church of St. Paul “out of their income from the operation of the salt pan.” The *protalykarios* was to collect this money from the *rogai* of each operator. The act is signed by two *protalykarioi*, Demetrios Panaretos and Andronikos Kontoskales; the latter is acting with “*syntrophia*,” and forty-five signatures of other members of the corporation follow.³¹ The existence of two *protalykarioi* is enigmatic, as is the qualification *syntrophia*. Does the term designate the whole corporation or does Kontoskales represent a particular *societas*? Are the forty-seven men who signed the act of 1415 real workers on the salt pan—the number seems very high—or the shareholders? The term *rogai* seems to support the latter suggestion: the term was applied in Byzantium primarily to designate the “salary” of officials or soldiers,³² and it is hard to

²⁷D. Herlihy, “Family and Property in Renaissance Florence,” in *The Medieval City*, ed. H. A. Miskimin, D. Herlihy, and A. L. Udovich (New Haven-London, 1977), 3 f. Cf. also Benvenuti da Imola, a commentator on Dante, in Gilomen, “Wucher,” 265.

²⁸See, e.g., M. A. Poljakovskaja, “Vzgljady Nikolaja Kavasily na rostovščičestvo,” *Antičnaja drevnost' i srednie veka* (hereafter *ADSV*) 13 (1976), 83–96. It is worth noting that usury is not mentioned in Byzantine manuals of arithmetic: K.-P. Matschke, “Handel und Gewerbe in spätbyzantinischen Rechenbüchern und in der spätbyzantinischen Wirklichkeit,” *Jahrbuch für Geschichte des Feudalismus* 3 (1979), 183–85 (differently interpreted by M. G. Baranova, “Pozdnevizantijskie zadačniki kak istoričeskij istočnik,” *ADSV* 9 [1973], 123). On the Byzantine attitude toward usury in the twelfth century, see A. Laiou, “God and Mammon: Credit, Trade, Profit and the Canonists,” *Tò Βυζάντιο κατὰ τὸν ἱβ' αἰῶνα* (Athens, 1991), 261–96.

²⁹Laiou-Thomadakis, “The Byzantine Economy,” 199–201; Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires*, 68–83; Matschke, “Handel und Gewerbe,” 190–96, 198–204; Schreiner, *Texte*, 432 f. On the *commenda* in Caffa and Trebizond, see S. P. Karpov, “Kontrakt kommendy v ital'janskoj torgovle v Južnom Pričernomor'e (XIII–XV vv.),” *VizVrem* 48 (1987), 23–32; the article is based on Italian documents.

³⁰Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires*, 108–14.

³¹*Actes de Dionysiou*, ed. N. Oikonomides (Paris, 1968), no. 14. See, on this document, K.-P. Matschke, *Die Schlacht bei Ankara und das Schicksal von Byzanz* (Weimar, 1981), 144–59.

³²See P. Lemerle, “‘Roga’ et rente d'état aux Xe–XIe siècles,” *REB* 25 (1967), 77–100. Besides *roga* the document uses the term *misthos* (annual *misthos*) (1.5, 6, 12); it is not clear whether *roga* and *mishthos* are

imagine that it denoted the trade income of a guild member. It could, however, signify the regular revenue, the “dividend” paid to a shareholder. If this suggestion is reasonable and the corporation in question was a *societas*, the exploitation of the salt pan in Thessalonike of the early fifteenth century was organized not as the activity of a medieval guild, but in the form of a “pre-capitalist” company as would become typical of the mining industry of the next century. We know little about earlier production of salt in Thessalonike, but we may probably surmise that the church played a larger role in it³³ than is reflected in the act of 1415. In any case, the material provided by this document, interesting as it is, does not suffice for sweeping generalizations.

Another document can be used to argue that a system of shareholding did exist in late Byzantium: the will of the nun Nymphodora, issued in 1445, describes her property that included various buildings given to the monastery of Xeropotamou; among other things she bequeathed the monks with shares (μέρη) of two *trochoi ergastikoi*, probably machines applied for mining or other industrial purposes.³⁴

Italian sources introduce us to the world of the merchant in the larger cities of Italy: scholars have studied their double-entry bookkeeping, their households, even the shifts in their mentality connected with the economic changes of the fourteenth century.³⁵ As for Byzantium, we are aware of but few biographies of the men of affairs, and primarily these are about the external events of their lives.³⁶ One point, however, should be emphasized: there was no unbridgeable gap between Greek and Italian tradesmen. John Laskaris Kalopheros, a Byzantine *synkletikos*, found a comfortable place in the Italian commercial and diplomatic worlds of the fourteenth century,³⁷ and on Byzantine soil

opposed or juxtaposed (as hendiadys) to each other. If *misthos* has here the traditional meaning of salary, the interpretation of the organization as a guild is not impossible, but we have to remember that the salary was paid to the apprentice, whereas the document seems to have dealt with the full-fledged members of the organization. Annual salaries were not typical of Byzantine economic relations.

³³In 688, Justinian II granted a salt pan to the church of St. Demetrios in Thessalonike: A. Vasiliev, “An Edikt of the Emperor Justinian II, September 688,” *Speculum* 18 (1943), 1–13; H. Grégoire, “Un édit de l’empereur Justinien II, daté de septembre 688,” *Byzantion* 17 (1945), 119–24. In the ninth century, the bishopric of Helenopolis was active in salt production: M. Gedeon, *Νέα βιβλιοθήκη ἐκκλησιαστικῶν συγγραφέων* (Constantinople, 1903), col. 13.13–23.

³⁴*Actes de Xéropotamou*, ed. J. Bompaire (Paris, 1964), no. 30.29–34.

³⁵See, for instance, B. Z. Kedar, *Merchants in Crisis: Genoese and Venetian Men of Affairs and the Fourteenth-Century Depression* (New Haven-London, 1976).

³⁶A. E. Laiou-Thomadakis, “The Greek Merchant at the Palaeologan Period: A Collective Portrait,” *Ἀκαδημία Ἀθηνῶν. Πρακτικά* 57 (1982), 96–132; reprinted in her *Gender, Society and Economic Life*, art. viii. See also K.-P. Matschke, “Byzantinische Politiker und byzantinische Kaufleute im Ringen um die Beteiligung am Schwarzmeerhandel in der Mitte des 14. Jh.,” *Mitteilungen des bulgarischen Forschungsinstituts in Österreich* 2.4 (1984), 75–96; idem, “Bemerkungen zu ‘Stadtbürgertum’ und ‘stadtbürgerlichem Geist’ in Byzanz,” *Jahrbuch für Geschichte des Feudalismus* 8 (1984), 265–85; idem, “Bemerkungen zu den sozialen Trägern des spätbyzantinischen Seehandels,” *Byzantinobulgarica* 7 (1981), 253–61; V. N. Zavražin, “K voprosu o ‘novom pre-dprinimatel’skom klasse’ v pozdnevizantijskom gorode,” *Naučnye trudy Tjumenskogo universiteta* 35.2 (1976), 149–60, stresses the weakness of the late Byzantine entrepreneurship in comparison with the previous period; unfortunately, the criteria of the comparison are not properly elaborated.

³⁷On him, see A. X. Eszer, *Das abenteuerliche Leben des Johannes Laskaris Kalopheros* (Wiesbaden, 1969); D. Jacoby, *Société et démographie à Byzance et en Romanie latine* (London, 1975), art. ix, pp. 189–228; art. x, pp. 378–81. In the fragments of the Greek account books published by Schreiner, the names of the contracting parties are more Muslim than Latin; this must be explained, according to Schreiner (*Texte*, 417), by the fact that these documents deal primarily with goods delivered from the “inner” (mainland) areas. It is quite plausible to conclude that in “merged” enterprises the Italians usually had the upper hand.

numerous mixed, Greco-Italian partnerships were contracted. Probably, the most indicative document describing the activity of a Byzantine man of affairs is a group of letters dated to 1453 and addressed to Nicholas-Isidore in Adrianople (and one letter of this group to a certain Kalokampos).³⁸ Even though Nicholas-Isidore (who lived on the territory conquered by the Turks) is sometimes called “judge,” he is a resident merchant rather than a functionary, and he deals with the trade of salt and caviar, with the construction of houses, loans, and similar transactions. He is also involved in humanitarian activities (ransoming captives) and cultural life (sending books, organizing a school). Probably, on a smaller scale, Nicholas-Isidore emulated his counterparts in Renaissance Italy.

In his book on the Byzantine civil war of 1341–54, Matschke singled out three categories of the urban population: the nobility of two layers (the upper echelon and the lower nobility), specific urban groups identified as the *mesoi* of Byzantine sources, and “the exploited masses,” the *Unterschichten*.³⁹ Their characteristics in narrative and rhetorical sources are too vague to become the object of scholarly analysis; as for documents, they rarely mention the actual city workers, while the distinction between the so-called *mesoi* and aristocrats involved in trading activity can be theoretically deduced rather than observed. Nevertheless we may assume that aristocrats participated in the world of commerce: according to Laiou, already in the first half of the fourteenth century a relatively high proportion (18 percent) of Byzantine merchants belonged to the aristocracy.⁴⁰ Oikonomides, who established a list of aristocrats connected with commerce (primarily on the basis of the data provided by Badoer’s *libri dei conti*), thinks that this “aristocratic involvement” in trade was a phenomenon of the second half of the fourteenth century which was continued through the first half of the fifteenth, connected with the aristocracy’s loss of landed property to the Serbs and Ottomans.⁴¹

Oriental sources may contribute to our understanding of Byzantine trade. In Arabic chronicles, for instance, we find information that in 1385 the emperor tried to get permission for Greek merchants to carry on trade in Egypt and Syria; it is indicative that Eliyahu Ashtor interprets this evidence as a manifestation of a precarious situation in Byzantium,⁴² a drying up of Constantinople’s supply of spices—so strong are our prejudices against the Byzantine capacity to develop its commerce!

Unquestionably, Greek acts available now present a lopsided image of Byzantine trading activity; they illuminate mainly two spheres of economic life—loans and transactions of property. Even though agricultural properties were often located within the city walls, primarily vineyards and kitchen gardens, the most typical object of urban property is described in the texts as οἶκημα or ὀσπήτιον, i.e., the house. It is not easy to determine whether the terms *oikema* and *hospetion* were synonymous; they could be used inter-

³⁸J. Darrouzès, “Lettres de 1453,” *REB* 22 (1964), 72–127. Schreiner (*Texte*, 396–99) raises an important question about the “typology of the merchant”; unfortunately the account books are too fragmentary to permit convincing conclusions, and even the level of circulation of goods is difficult to establish; thus, the anonymous person of text no. 1 is characterized, first, as an “Inhaber eines mittelgrossen Handelsunternehmens” (p. 36) and then as a “(Gross?) Händler” (p. 396).

³⁹K.-P. Matschke, *Fortschritt und Reaktion in Byzanz im 14. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1971), 38–62.

⁴⁰Laiou-Thomadakis, “The Greek Merchant,” 105. Cf. Schreiner, *Texte*, 98.

⁴¹Oikonomidès, *Hommes d’affaires*, 120–22; cf. idem, “Byzantium between East and West,” *ByzF* 13 (1988), 328 f.

⁴²E. Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ, 1983), 105 f.

changeably, but sometimes we read about *oikemata* surrounded by small *hospetia*.⁴³ This implies a certain difference, at least in size. The number of houses under one private ownership could be extremely high. The case of Maria Palaiologina, “the lady of the Mongols” (*PLP*, no. 21395), the natural daughter of the emperor Michael VIII, must be considered exceptional; her property, described in an act of 1351, included rural estates, gardens and vineyards, bakeries, and sixty *emphyteutic* houses near Palaios Phoros in Constantinople.⁴⁴ Houses are usually listed in descriptions of aristocratic patrimonies. In the estimate of the dowry of Maria Doblytzene/Deblitzene made in 1384, the *oikemata* in the region (*geitonia*) of St. Demetrios of Thessalonike are appraised at 10 litrae,⁴⁵ which forms almost one-half of the entire dowry (22 litrae). In 1377 Constantine Laskaris and his sisters possessed in Serres *hospetia* (the number of which is not defined in the document) as well as a bakery.⁴⁶ The dowry of the wife of Theodore Barzanes (*PLP*, no. 2219) was estimated in 1397 at 2200 hyperpyra;⁴⁷ it included various houses, some of which had their prices indicated (e.g., 218 and 258 hyperpyra); among these buildings were bakeries and workshops. In 1240 Matthew Perdikarios possessed a vast property in Thessalonike that included vineyards and arable land, as well as eight and one-third houses.⁴⁸ In 1313 Kosmas Pankalos handed over to the Constantinopolitan monastery of the Pantokrator land and vineyards near Serres, as well as three *ergasteria* in the *emporion* of Serres, two bakeries in the *kastron* of Serres, and no fewer than ten houses.⁴⁹ Theodore Karabas (*PLP*, no. 11075) owned in 1314 nine houses in the *geitonia* of the martyr Menas in Thessalonike, an *oikema* on the Phoros of Staurios, and two houses in the village of Rhabdos,⁵⁰ besides vineyards, wine, grain, implements, etc.

This list, which has no claims to be exhaustive, differs drastically from that established by Günter Weiss.⁵¹ Weiss enumerates 30 possessions of both secular and ecclesiastical owners between 1233 and 1445, almost all of a rural character rarely containing buildings or workshops. The difference, probably, can be explained by his principle of selection: Weiss included in his catalogue only those descriptions of properties of which the complete volume was estimated in money. At any rate, we may see (and this is, of course, not unexpected) that some of the late Byzantine aristocrats typically possessed urban properties in Constantinople, Thessalonike, and Serres.

Some documents, as we have seen, mention the price of houses. In 1316 Autoriane, wife of the *sebastos* John Polemianites, advised her brother to sell an unspecified number

⁴³ MM 1: 312.19–20.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 312–17.

⁴⁵ *Actes de Docheiariou*, ed. N. Oikonomidès (Paris, 1984), no. 49. 5–6. See N. Oikonomides, “The Properties of the Deblitzenoi in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries,” *Charanis Studies* (New Brunswick, 1980), 180.

⁴⁶ *Actes de Lavra*, ed. P. Lemerle et al., 4 vols. (Paris, 1970–82), 3, no. 148.10–12.

⁴⁷ MM 2: 347.15.

⁴⁸ *Actes de Lavra* 2, no. 70.24–29.

⁴⁹ *Actes de Kuitumus*, ed. P. Lemerle (Paris, 1988), no. 8.12–16.

⁵⁰ *Actes de Chilandar*, ed. L. Petit, *VizVrem* 17 (1911), Prilozhenie, no. 27.21–33 and 27.50.

⁵¹ G. Weiss, “Vermögensbildung der Byzantiner in Privathand: Methodische Fragen einer quantitativen Analyse,” *Byzantina* 11 (1982), 88–92, nos. 27–56. J.-Cl. Cheynet, E. Malamut, and C. Morisson (“Prix et salaires à Byzance [Xe-XVe siècle],” in *Hommes et richesses dans l’Empire byzantin*, II [Paris, 1991], 353–56) established a list of seventy-six appraisals of houses (mostly between 1281 and 1430), the prices of which are indicated in available sources.

of her houses for 550 hyperpyra.⁵² The sons of Perios Lampadenos, *oikeioi* of the emperor (*PLP*, no. 14412), possessed several buildings, of which a bakery was estimated at 50 hyperpyra, a *triklinon* at 160, and a house named “the low mansion” (*hamaipalation*) at 120.⁵³ The houses of Demetrios Kalamanos and his two brothers in Thessalonike (*PLP*, no. 10221) were estimated at 250 hyperpyra;⁵⁴ Martha-Melania, daughter of the *stratopedarch* Petzikopoulos (*PLP*, no. 22529), and her sons sold to Chilandar three large houses for 140 hyperpyra.⁵⁵ In 1400/1 Manuel Bouzenos, *oikeios* of the emperor (*PLP*, no. 3018), sold his *oikemata* to Thomas Kallokyres for 270 hyperpyra.⁵⁶

Houses were a substantial part of the property owned by aristocrats, and they were used as security for loans. Thus, Eustathios Kinnamos received as dowry a vineyard and several houses. When he needed money he gave these houses as security for 200 hyperpyra; he also sold some houses of his own. A certain Panopoulos received 300 hyperpyra from Thomas Kallokyres having given him for security a house sold to him by the monastery of Hodegoi.⁵⁷

Not only aristocrats were homeowners: we read in an act about the priest Michael who is said to possess nothing except for two *hospetia*; one of these houses was estimated at 24 hyperpyra only⁵⁸—not surprisingly less than houses of the noble families. John Andronas and his wife Anna sold to the monastery of the Virgin called Jerusalem three houses in the *geitonia* of St. Paramonos in Thessalonike for the small sum of 54 hyperpyra.⁵⁹ Anyisia Platyskalitissa sold to Chilandar in the same *geitonia* two *oikemata* for 40 hyperpyra.⁶⁰ In 1320 Anna Paxamado, with her brother, received 60 hyperpyra from the monastery of Iviron for three houses located in Thessalonike, in the *geitonia* of Acheiropoietos.⁶¹ In 1326 the same monastery acquired three houses, a small garden, a wine press, and some other immovables in Thessalonike for 100 hyperpyra.⁶²

Even though our data are scarce and incidental, we may assert that the lay aristocracy possessed houses (and sometimes artisanal workshops) in substantial numbers; ten houses owned by a single person were not exceptional. Calculation of the average price is difficult, since in many cases the number of houses is not specified; where we are aware of individual prices, they oscillate from 50 to 250 hyperpyra. The houses that belonged to the people of lower status seem to have been less valuable: the meager figures we have gathered above are between 18 and 24 hyperpyra. We do not know whether this difference in price was accounted for by the size of the buildings, by their location, or by the social position of their owners.

⁵²H. Hunger and O. Kresten, *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*, I (Vienna, 1981), no. 44, p. 308.4–6.

⁵³MM 2: 356.17–21.

⁵⁴*Actes de Zographou*, ed. W. Regel, E. Kurtz, and B. Korablev, *VizVrem* 13 (1907), no. 25. 71–74.

⁵⁵*Actes de Chilandar*, no. 112.35–41.

⁵⁶MM 2: 493.31–32.

⁵⁷Hunger and Kresten, *Register*, I, no. 38, p. 290.6–8; MM 2: 380.19–26.

⁵⁸MM 2: 339.11–16.

⁵⁹*Actes de Chilandar*, no. 25.26–27.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, no. 106.36–38. M. Sjužjumov, “Predprinimatel’stvo v vizantijskom gorode,” *ADSV* 4 (1966), 20 n. 11, affirms that houses in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were cheaper than in the sixth century.

⁶¹F. Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern des Heiligen Berges* (Munich, 1948), no. 111.28=*Actes d’Iviron*, III, ed. J. Lefort et al. (Paris, 1994), no. 78.28.

⁶²*Actes d’Iviron*, III, no. 84.32.

The data collected by Michel Balard from the Genoese notarial acts of 1389/90 provide the prices of houses in Pera: one house was valued at 450 hyperpyra, another at 600, and two houses located near a soap manufacture cost an exorbitant sum of 4,000.⁶³ Balard notes that these figures are higher than those of the end of the thirteenth century, even taking into consideration the devaluation of Byzantine coins, but they are also substantially higher than those cited in the contemporary Greek documents collected by Jean Claude Cheynet, Elisabeth Malamut, and Cécile Morrisson (see note 51). Is this difference accidental, or does it show that the immovable properties in Pera were better or simply more expensive than those of the Greek population? The data are too scanty to draw a conclusion.

Besides houses, documents mention time and again workshops belonging to aristocrats (and other city dwellers?). Thus, circa 1360 Bryennisa bequeathed to her relative Magistrina (*PLP*, no. 16039) some immovables near Mikra Pyle (in Constantinople?) that included, besides a garden and some houses, a bakery and three *ergasteria*.⁶⁴ In 1400 a *myrepsikon ergasterion* (a shop for the production or sale of unguents and perfums) near Kynegou Pyle in Constantinople belonged to Kaukania and John Antiocheites Kaloeidas; it was estimated at 200 hyperpyra.⁶⁵ In the same year, Theodora, widow of Astrapyres, possessed a *kapelikon ergasterion* in the quarter of Vlanka in Constantinople;⁶⁶ she gave it as security for her debt of 85 hyperpyra. We can only guess to what extent these numbers were determined by the menacing political situation circa 1400.

The owners rented out their houses.⁶⁷ The concentration of a significant number of houses in private hands leads to the conclusion that houses were in high demand in late Byzantine cities, that the "real estate industry" flourished. We may hypothesize that this was somehow connected with the influx of Byzantines into the cities. We have no figures concerning the fluctuation of the urban population in the fourteenth century, but we have a representative cross-section of the demographic changes in southern Macedonia during the first half of that century, and it is commonly held that the countryside saw a decrease of population in these years.⁶⁸ The political instability of the period seems to provide us with a sufficient explanation of this depopulation: Turkish inroads and civil wars took their toll. But was political instability the only cause of the depletion of rural areas in the fourteenth century? The comparison with the Italian situation permits us to approach the problem from a completely different standpoint: David Herlihy's calculations demonstrate that at the same time a demographic plunge took place in the rural

⁶³ M. Balard, *La Romanie génoise*, I (Rome, 1978), 197.

⁶⁴ MM 1: 391.32–392.2. On the case of Magistrina, see *Les registes des actes du patriarchat de Constantinople*, ed. J. Darrouzès, 8 vols. (Paris, 1932–79), V, nos. 2,424–27. The Mikra Pyle is not mentioned in R. Janin's *Constantinople byzantine* (Paris, 1964).

⁶⁵ MM 2: 358.12–13.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 367.9–14.

⁶⁷ K.-P. Matschke, "Grund- und Hauseigentum in und um Konstantinopel in spätbyzantinischer Zeit," *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (1984)/IV, 125.

⁶⁸ A. E. Laiou-Thomadakis, *Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire* (Princeton, NJ, 1977), 266; see also N. K. Kondov, "Demographische Notizen über die Landbevölkerung aus dem Gebiet des Unteren Strymon in der ersten Hälfte des XIV. Jahrhunderts," *Etudes balkaniques* 2–3 (1965), 261–72; D. Jacoby, *Société et démographie à Byzance et en Romanie latine* (London, 1975), art. III, pp. 161–86; A. Kazhdan, "Novye issledovaniia po vizantijskoj demografii," *VizVrem* 29 (1969), 307–10.

areas around Pistoia and in many other places,⁶⁹ and the low birthrate of the Tuscan urban population was compensated by the immigration of peasants into cities.⁷⁰ Accordingly we may surmise that a part of the population of the Byzantine countryside moved into cities in the fourteenth century forming there a layer of potential tenants. The evidence of such migration is meager but not completely nonexistent. Thus, in the *praktikon* of 1321 six peasant families are registered who moved from their villages to Thessalonike and continued to pay rent to the monastery of Lavra; one of these settlers is described as the son of a butcher, another a cutter of marble.⁷¹ The influx of such families made the “real estate industry” profitable.

The lay nobility, or at least a part of it, was active in renting out their houses; it seems, however, that ecclesiastical and monastic institutions stood apart from this enterprise. It is usually thought that Byzantine monasteries obtained vast properties within city walls.⁷² This thesis, however, must be checked. According to Margarita Poljakovskaja, no less than twenty houses in Thessalonike belonging to Athonian monasteries are mentioned in the available sources. Certainly, this figure is immeasurably lower than the real number of monastic buildings within the city, but the insignificance of it—in comparison with the number of houses in the hands of secular owners (up to sixty in one “household”!)—is striking. Moreover, many inventories of monastic immovables do not mention urban elements at all. Thus, the chrysobull of Andronikos II of 1298, listing the possessions of Lavra both near and in Thessalonike, itemizes only rural properties: villages, *metochia*, fields, vineyards, mills, and so on;⁷³ this rural character of Lavra’s possessions did not change in the first half of the fourteenth century.⁷⁴ Only land (γῆ and *choraphia*) is named in the *praktikon* of the property of the Zographou monastery of 1294.⁷⁵ The list of the

⁶⁹D. Herlihy, *Medieval and Renaissance Pistoia* (New Haven, 1967), 57–71; idem, *Cities and Society* (as in note 1), art. VII, p. 3 f.

⁷⁰Herlihy, *Cities and Society*, art. XI, p. 182 f.

⁷¹*Actes de Lavra* 2, no. 109.53, 225, 270, 271, 373, 425. See Ks. Chvostova, “Nekotorye voprosy vnutrennej trgovli i tovgovoj politiki v Vizantii XIV-XV vv.,” *VizVrem* 50 (1989), 41 f.

⁷²See particularly articles by M. A. Poljakovskaja: “K voprosu o charaktere gorodskoj i prigorodnoj monastyrskoj sobstvennosti v pozdnej Vizantii,” *ADSV* 4 (1966), 75–93; “Metochi v gorodskom i prigorodnom chozjajstve pozdnej Vizantii,” *Permskij universitet. Učenyje zapiski* 143 (1966), 93–97; “Monastyrskie vladenija v Fessalonike i ee prigorodnom rajone v XIV-načale XV vv.,” *ADSV* 3 (1965), 17–46; *Monastyrskie vladenija v gorode Serry i prigorodnom rajone v XIV v.*, *VizVrem* 27 (1967), 310–18. The data collected by Poljakovskaja were supplemented and corrected by B. Ferjančić, “Posedi vizantijskich provincijskich manastira u gradovima,” *ZRVI* 19 (1980), 209–50, who distinguishes the lands possessed by close-by and remote monasteries, but does not categorize specifically urban (shops, bakeries, and so forth) and agricultural (gardens, etc.) immovables. In the same vein A. Bryer, “The Late Byzantine Monastery in Town and Countryside,” *Studies in Church History* 16 (1979), 222–25, notes that monasteries owned lands and dependent peasants and that rural monasteries maintained *metochia* in the capital, but he does not discuss the nature of the monastic urban property. M. Živojinović, in a recent article (“The Houses of Hilandar Monastery in Thessalonike during the Fourteenth Century,” in *To Hellenikon: Studies in Honor of Sp. Vryonis, Jr.*, I [New Rochelle, NY, 1993], 465–74), deals primarily with the architectural image of buildings, not with their economic functions. Cf. also D. Papachryssanthou, “Maisons modestes à Thessalonique au XIVE siècle,” *Ametos ste mneme F. Apostolopoulou* (Athens, 1984), 254–67.

⁷³*Actes de Lavra* 2, no. 89.80–150.

⁷⁴See the chrysobull of 1329: *Actes de Lavra* 3, no. 118.77–154.

⁷⁵*Actes de Zographou*, no. 52. On the date, see G. Ostrogorsky, *Pour l'histoire de la féodalité byzantine* (Brussels, 1954), 270 n. 1.

possessions of the monastery of All-Saints transferred by Helena Dušan to Lavra in 1361 comprises agricultural possessions only.⁷⁶ The Chilandar monastery owned in 1299 *choraphia*, olive groves, vineyards, gardens, and mills, but no specific urban properties, and its possessions retain the same agricultural pattern in the fourteenth century.⁷⁷

In some monastic inventories (and similar lists) *oikemata* are included. Thus, the chrysobull of Andronikos II of 1322 itemizes rural properties of the Xenophon monastery and adds to them recent acquisitions in Thessalonike—houses (of an unqualified quantity) and three *ergasteria*.⁷⁸ In 1394 Manuel II listed in a chrysobull *oikemata* of the Athonian monastery Pantokrator in various towns—Chrysopolis, Eletheroupolis, and Christoupolis.⁷⁹ In 1415 the monastery of the Virgin of the Life-receiving Source possessed *oikemata* on Lemnos—in both the *kastron* and the *emporion*.⁸⁰ In 1428–43 Lavra owned in Aenos several *oikemata* and a *hospetion*,⁸¹ but it is possible that these houses were parts of rural rather than urban milieux, being surrounded by *choraphia* and fruit trees.

An act of exchange of properties between two monasteries, Chortaites and Iviron, signed circa 1320, enumerates the immovables owned by these monasteries in and near Thessalonike; unfortunately the end of the document is lost.⁸² In general statements (1.19–20, 35, 36, 53) the scribe speaks of the court (αὐλή) with houses; one clause, however, is more specific and shows the rural character of, at least, one of the properties that is itemized (1.61–62) as “a bakery, two wine presses, six mulberry trees and a garden.”

It seems that urban properties were less substantial in the monastic economy than in the households of secular owners: not only do monastic inventories and imperial chrysobulls usually ignore houses, but even when mentioning them fiscal officials describe them summarily, without indication of precise numbers of buildings. It seems to some extent exceptional that several documents related to Serres reveal a greater interest in urban properties than the acts dealing with Constantinople and Thessalonike; thus, the chrysobull of Andronikos II of 1309 lists three *oikemata* of the monastery of Menoikeion in Serres and defines them as two *ergasteria* and a bakery;⁸³ in the chrysobull of Stefan Dušan of 1345, the urban properties of Menoikeion in Serres are described as “various *ergasteria* near the Imperial gate and other various *oikemata* for rent (ἐνοικιακά).”⁸⁴ Menoikeion was not the only monastery to possess immovables in Serres; Chilandar also kept a house in Serres in the fourteenth century.⁸⁵ The urban property of Kosmas Pankalos in Serres (see above) was donated to the Constantinopolitan monastery of the Pantokrator and eventually transferred to the monastery of Koutloumous: it included houses, a bakery, and three *ergasteria*.⁸⁶

⁷⁶ *Actes de Lavra* 3, no. 140.12–20.

⁷⁷ *Actes de Chilandar*, no. 13.50–81; cf. nos. 31–33, 58.

⁷⁸ *Actes de Xénophon*, ed. D. Papachryssanthou (Paris, 1986), no. 17.57–59.

⁷⁹ *Actes de Pantokrator*, ed. V. Kravari (Paris, 1991), no. 16.16–19. See the patriarch Antony IV's confirmation: MM 2: 217.34–35, 218.5 (with a wrong date).

⁸⁰ *Actes de Lavra* 3, no. 164.4–5.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, no. 166.9–15.

⁸² *Actes d'Iviron*, III, no. 76.

⁸³ A. Guillou, *Les archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrôme sur le mont Ménécée* (Paris, 1955), no. 4.25.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 39.67–68.

⁸⁵ *Actes de Chilandar*, nos. 62.55–56, 63.34–36, 63.62–64. The house of Nikephoros Amaxas (no. 138.44) is, evidently, a different property.

⁸⁶ *Actes de Koutloumous*, no. 18.41–44.

The question arises as to whether the attention paid to urban properties in the monastic documents referring to Serres is accidental or whether the monasteries of Menoikeion, Chilandar, and Koutloumous found in Serres a more beneficial terrain than in Thessalonike; moreover, we have noticed that various monasteries acquired houses in other provincial towns, such as Chrysopoulis, Aenos, and others. If this observation is correct (but unfortunately the data available are too scanty), we may hypothesize that the situation in Thessalonike differed from that in Serres and other (smaller?) towns in which monastic property was more strongly enrooted.⁸⁷

If monastic chrysobulls and similar acts usually omit the possession of houses in Thessalonike and, possibly, in other places—which does not yet prove that monasteries did not possess them but probably only that they paid more attention to their rural estates—some acts mention workshops and houses donated to monasteries or ecclesiastical institutions. Especially rich in data is the chrysobull of John V of 1342 confirming a grant of a monk Niphon to Lavra in which the properties of the xenon of St. Panteleemon in Constantinople are catalogued. They included houses, various workshops, “tables” of exchange, and so on;⁸⁸ Lavra had to receive some revenue from these enterprises.

Various donations and sales of houses to monasteries or churches are registered in documents that have survived. For instance, in 1321 Alexander Eurippiotes, *megas allagios* (PLP, no. 6321), was granted the village Pougion to remunerate him for the donation of houses (in unspecified number) to the church of Hodegetria in Thessalonike.⁸⁹ In 1381, upon entering the monastery of Docheiariou, Stamatios-Simon donated to this institution his *oikema* located in the *geitonia* of Hippodromos, in Thessalonike, as well as his vineyard outside the city.⁹⁰ Alexander Doukas Sarantenos and his wife sold in 1322 three houses to Chilandar in the *geitonia* of St. Paramonos, in Thessalonike.⁹¹ The number of examples can easily be increased, and some cases have already been mentioned above.

These acquisitions, however, do not always appear in inventories. Thus, in 1320 Basil Modenos sold to Chilandar several *oikemata* in Thessalonike as well as a vineyard and some land; in the chrysobull of Andronikos III of 1321, listing the monastery’s possessions, only the vineyard of Modenos is included.⁹² Another case is the property of Maria Deblitzene which, as we have seen, contained substantial urban property. In the contract of 1419, Theodora, Maria’s daughter, states, however, that her mother, before her death,

⁸⁷The problem of the so-called typology of late Byzantine towns has been raised by V. Hrochova, *Byzantská města ve 13.-15. století* (Prague, 1967), and “Současný stav bádání o středověkém městě v jihovýchodní Evropě,” *Československý časopis historický* 4 (1977), 585–606; cf. also V. N. Zavražin, “Nekotorye problemy istorii pozdnevizantijskogo goroda v novejšich issledovanijach,” *VizVrem* 41 (1980), 273 f. I am afraid that the clear categorization suggested by Hrochova is—the scarcity of sources considered—premature; thus, on p. 88 of the book, Hrochova placed Mistra both in the first category (great cities—*emporía* [! the term *emporion* did not designate a great city]) and in the second category (the centers of vast regions).

⁸⁸*Actes de Lavra* 3, no. 123.99–160. On this document, see F. Dölger and P. Wirth, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches*, V (Munich-Berlin, 1965), no. 2885.

⁸⁹*Actes de Chilandar*, no. 67.3–9.

⁹⁰*Actes de Docheiariou*, no. 47.12–14.

⁹¹*Actes de Chilandar*, no. 84.20–27.

⁹²*Ibid.*, no. 53.13–18; cf. no. 63.27. In another purchase deed of 1329, Modenos’ estate is defined as a *zeugolatheion* with houses, vineyards, and gardens (*ibid.*, no. 118.10–12).

donated to the monastery of Docheiariou *choraphia* and *paroikoi*,⁹³ but no urban possessions are mentioned.

There are some cases that show how monks were getting rid of the houses they had been granted. In 1390 the widow of Sanianos donated to the monastery of Hodegoi a house (in Constantinople?) that the monastery sold right away to a certain Panopoulos.⁹⁴ The workshops inherited by Magistrina from Bryennisa (see above) were given by Magistrina to the monastery of St. Paul of Latros, which did not hold them for long, but sold houses and three *ergasteria* to a secular owner, a certain Synadene.⁹⁵ When the monastery of Vatopedi sold to another monastery, the Zographou, its *metochion* in the *geitonia* of St. Pelagia, in Thessalonike in 1270, the scribe inserted in the charter a clause "in order to buy for this price a more profitable estate."⁹⁶

Certainly, the data are too insignificant to allow a persuasive solution, but are we not at least to ask whether monastic institutions were less interested in urban properties than secular owners. A patriarchal letter of 1401 graphically describes the attitude of a nun toward her property in Constantinople. In the region of Kynegon there was an allotment of a certain Maurommates with houses, trees, and vines; Maurommates left the city, and the allotment was administered by his relative, the nun Petraleiphine. The nun neglected the land, destroyed the plants, and the deserted place was haunted by casual passersby, so that the gardener, unable to prevent frequent thefts, was thinking of fleeing. A neighbor, Mark Palaiologos Iagaris, intervened: he built a fence, cleared the lot of stones (?), and planted it.⁹⁷ Again, we have here no more than an isolated case, but it somehow reflects the different approach of a secular landowner and a nun toward urban property. The nun—at least this particular nun, Petraleiphine—was uninterested in keeping the house and its garden in proper condition. Certainly, we may assume that other nuns, monks, or monastic communities had a different attitude toward urban immovables.

Monasteries exploited their immovables, usually in a medieval way, renting them out *ad vitam*. A patriarchal letter of 1400 confirms a contract between several monasteries in Thessalonike and a certain Constantine Samaminthes who rented for the term of his life a *myrepsikon ergasterion* that belonged to four ecclesiastical institutions.⁹⁸ The baker Manuel Chrysoberges "bought" (ἡγόρασε) from the nunnery of the Lady Martha a house for 14 hyperpyra;⁹⁹ in fact, the deal was a lease, since Chrysoberges stipulated that he would pay an annual rent, and after the death of the baker and his wife (if they died childless) the nunnery would inherit the *hospetion*. A similar contract was concluded between Marinós Manikaïtes and the monastery of Dionysiou in 1463. Manikaïtes gave to the monastery 10 nomismata for a workshop located on Lemnos (which was conquered by the Ottomans only in 1479); he was to dwell in the place until his death, whereafter the building had to be returned to the monastery.¹⁰⁰

⁹³ *Actes de Docheiariou*, no. 57.5–8; cf. no. 58.3–4.

⁹⁴ MM 2: 380.19–26. On this case, see A. Failler, "Une donation des époux Sanianoï aux monastère des Hodégôi," *REB* 34 (1976), 111–17.

⁹⁵ MM 1: 392.1–2.

⁹⁶ *Actes de Zographou*, no. 8.6–9.

⁹⁷ MM 2: 497.2–17. On this letter, see Darrouzès, *Les regestes*, VI, no. 3210.

⁹⁸ MM 2: 525 f.

⁹⁹ MM 2: 441.25–33. On the date, see Darrouzès, *Les regestes*, VI, no. 3169.

¹⁰⁰ *Actes de Dionysiou*, no. 30.2–6.

Side by side with these traditional (and I would even say feudal) forms of lord-tenant relations, new forms were developing that have some features of “entrepreneurship” and were, in a certain sense, more advanced than similar institutions in contemporary Italy.

One act of 1264 is a contract of lease.¹⁰¹ The monastery of Iviron rented out to Nicholas Kamoudes and three of his successors its *metochion* located in the *geitonia* of St. Paramonos in Thessalonike on the condition of an annual payment of a (nominal?) sum of 4 nomismata; the property included a church and six houses (1.22–23). What is noteworthy about this contract is the personality of the locator: Nicholas Kamoudes was a craftsman, a saddler (1.8). Under the guise of a medieval lease for four generations with a nominal rent, a new enterprise was probably developing, and Kamoudes evidently counted on the profit from managing these houses.

One of the most important innovations in the economic life of fourteenth-century Tuscany was the so-called *mezzadria*, which Herlihy defines as an agrarian contract that established a new form of rent: instead of high and fixed payments, the *mezzadria* obliged the tenant to give half of the harvest to the landlord in return for which the landlord was to provide the capital (oxen, stock, seeds, and so on) needed for agricultural production. Herlihy stresses that the *mezzadria* did not create a capitalist system but remained within the framework of the “gift economy,” the landlord being protector and patron of the tenant.¹⁰²

Late Byzantium knew as well energetic entrepreneurs who ventured to improve productivity on and increase income from rented properties. It is difficult to interpret these cases. Unlike the Tuscan *mezzadria*, cases of late Byzantine “improved rent” are few, and their legal nature is poorly defined; what is even worse, we do not know to what extent this “improved rent” was an innovation of the fourteenth century. Since our knowledge about the agrarian history of Byzantium is almost blank, it is easy to hypothesize that the empire inherited this kind of relation from the Roman past. Given all this, let us analyze several cases of “improved rent” reflected in the available documents.

The simplest case is described in an act of 1314, a deal struck between the monastery of Iviron and a certain Constantine Marmaras.¹⁰³ The act does not say who this Constantine was, and the suggestion that he was a marbleworker (in accordance with his second name) cannot be substantiated. Be that as it may, Constantine acquired three houses in the *geitonia* of Acheiropoietos (in Thessalonike) near the property of the Iviron. After a certain period of time, the monastery, referring to its right of neighborhood, urged Marmaras to yield these houses to the monks and paid him 70 nomismata as the price of the allotment and 40 nomismata for the improvements made on the land. Since the payment for the improvements surpassed half of the price of the holding, we may hypothesize that they were substantial.

The convent of Panagia Pausolye in Constantinople rented out its garden to the Spyridones brothers who stipulated that they would plant a vineyard there; after five years, the tenants were to provide the convent with half of the produced wine, whereas the convent paid the brothers six hyperpyra at the time of the harvest.¹⁰⁴ The ameliora-

¹⁰¹ *Actes d'Iviron*, III, no. 60.

¹⁰² Herlihy, *Medieval and Renaissance Pistoia*, 136; cf. also his *Cities and Society* (as in note 1), art. XIV, p. 12 f.

¹⁰³ *Actes d'Iviron*, III, no. 73.

¹⁰⁴ MM 2: 499 f.

tion was successful: whereas the garden had barely given 20 hyperpyra of income, the half of the revenue that the convent received from its tenants amounted to 50 hyperpyra. Unfortunately, one of the brothers perished, and the situation deteriorated. A less successful case is described in a patriarchal letter of 1401. The convent of St. Andrew in Tribunal, located in Constantinople, rented out a vineyard to a certain Luke and his companion on the condition that the tenants would ameliorate the land in four years and then pay the convent half of their harvest. Luke failed to fulfill his stipulation, and the contract was canceled.¹⁰⁵

The litigation that took place in 1400/1 between Irene Palaiologina and her relatives—her brother Andronikos and her uncle David—about their rights on the land of the church of the Immaculate Virgin in Constantinople reveals some elements of amelioration; it does not matter for our purpose whether Irene acted legitimately or not, but she reportedly planted a vineyard on the property (or a pasture? *voμή* has both meanings) of the church, and at the same time the unidentified Pepagomenos planted a vineyard on the driveway connecting the same property with the thoroughfare. Andronikos, on the other hand, also tried to exploit the ecclesiastical property for economic ends; at any rate, Irene accused her brother of transforming the shrine into a storage for grapes.¹⁰⁶ Also in Constantinople, a certain Manuel Katalanos rented a piece of land owned by the Peribleptos monastery for the term of his life; he stipulated that he would transform the land into a vineyard. The document guaranteed the renter unrestricted ownership, whatever that meant, and allowed him, after payment of an additional 20 hyperpyra, to transfer the property to his heirs.¹⁰⁷

Leasing for half of a harvest was well known in Byzantium long before the fourteenth century; it is mentioned in the Farmer's Law, among others texts. There is no evidence, however, that the seventh-century lease presupposed the amelioration of land or any payment on the part of the landowner (as in the case of the Spyridones brothers) or granting favorable conditions to the renter (such as the exemption from payment for certain years as in the case of Luke). The renters of the ninth to eleventh centuries were *paroikoi*,¹⁰⁸ who eventually were transformed into dependent peasants, and not well-off entrepreneurs like Spyridones and Luke.

The late Byzantine "improved" or "ameliorated" rent contributed to the growth of productivity and to the increase of agricultural income. At the same time, a more complicated form of "ameliorated" rent began to appear in Byzantium: in some cases the renter's payment was not determined "post factum," as a part (the half) of his yield, but was fixed in the contract so that the renter appropriated all the income above the contractual figure.

These cases are few and known more from legal deliberations than contracts. One of the earliest known cases is a litigation described in an act of 1295.¹⁰⁹ According to this document, a certain priest, Nicholas Platyskalites by name, allegedly rented from the

¹⁰⁵MM 2: 506 f.

¹⁰⁶MM 2: 457.6–9 and 32–33; see commentary Darrouzès, *Les registes*, VI, no. 3182.

¹⁰⁷H. Hunger, "Zu den rechtlichen Inedita des konstantinopler Patriarchatsregisters im cod. Vindob. hist. gr. 48," *REB* 24 (1966), 59.

¹⁰⁸M. Kaplan, *Les hommes et la terre à Byzance du VI^e au XI^e siècle* (Paris, 1992), 355, emphasizes that by that time the Roman distinction between the renter-*emphyteutes* and the half-dependent *paroikos* had a tendency to be blurred.

¹⁰⁹*Actes d'Iviron*, III, no. 67.21–31.

monastery of Iviron a piece of land of approximately 30 modioi, having stipulated an annual payment of three nomismata and a promise to produce improvements, to wit plant a vineyard. The monks, however, accused Platyskalites of deception and canceled the contract. Leaving aside colorful details (Platyskalites called the Iberian monks Armenians and Bogomils [1.51–52]), we may assume that the monks, having seen the growing productivity of the land they had rented out, decided to request its return. Similarly, such was the background of the monastery's litigation with the Argyropouloi.¹¹⁰ The Argyropouloi were considered noble in Thessalonike, and at the same time they were active in the fur trade, in financing, and in buying houses.¹¹¹ In 1421 they were defendants in a case instituted by Iviron. According to the judicial decision, Iviron owned in Thessalonike, near the Golden Gate, a complex of gardens that the monks leased to small tenants collecting from all of them 59½ hyperpyra. In 1404, they changed the system and rented the gardens to the Argyropouloi for a lesser sum; we are not told why the payment was decreased. The Argyropouloi spent a substantial amount of money (17,000 aspra) on the amelioration of the land, and managed to increase the payments (called *morta* or *pakton*) of their tenants to 115 hyperpyra, not counting the "gifts" in kind. The monks decided to take the gardens back; they won the case, and the emperor Manuel II confirmed the verdict of the tribunal.

A similar case was brought before a judge in Thessalonike in 1419. A certain Dadas rented from the monastery of Xenophon five grocery shops and three large houses in the *geitonia* of Asomatoi, located in the Great Stoa; he stipulated that he would pay to the monastery three hyperpyra. Evidently, Xenophon was unable to exploit the immovables properly. The entrepreneur, however, transformed the shops into a large wine market, and his income grew to the substantial figure of 30 hyperpyra. Restructuring, naturally, required major expenses. The ecclesiastical tribunal that heard this case decided that Dadas' sons (he died some years beforehand) had the choice of either paying an increased sum or of canceling the contract after having received compensation for the amelioration undertaken by their father. The document contains a theoretical conclusion that justifies the change of conditions, since the law of *emphyteusis*, said the judge, is not applicable to *ergasteria* and houses. And which lord, he continues, will bear calmly that his property is bringing such an income that flows to alien hands and not to the actual proprietor!¹¹²

The act of 1432 is not the minutes of a judicial session but a contract. It presents a similar enterprise: the New Monastery (Nea Mone) in Thessalonike had a workshop producing linseed oil; a certain Turk (or, probably, but not necessarily we should read it as a proper name, Tourkos?) used it and paid a rent the amount of which is not defined. Then Constantine Manklabites came and offered to pay eight nomismata for the *ergasterion*, promising amelioration and improvement of the quality of work.¹¹³

We may state that monasteries—as far as the available documentation allows us to

¹¹⁰Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern*, no. 102; cf. also *ibid.*, no. 24. On this case, A. Kazhdan, "Novye materialy po vnutrennej istorii Vizantii X-XV vv.," *VizVrem* 13 (1958), 305 f, and (in French) "Vita materiale e paesaggio rurale," in *La civiltà bizantina: oggetti e messaggio*, ed. A. Guillou (Rome, 1991), 201–4; Ferjančić, "Posedi" (as in note 72), 221 f. Ks. Chvostova, *Osobennosti agrarnopravovych otnošenij v pozdnej Vizantii* (Moscow, 1968), 259, and especially Matschke, *Schlacht* (as in note 31), 159–75.

¹¹¹MM 2: 374.32, 472.9, 493.4–5.

¹¹²*Actes de Xénophon*, no. 32.29–33. On this case, Chvostova, "Nekotorye voprosy" (as in note 71), 42.

¹¹³*Actes de Lavra* 3, no. 168.4–7.

judge—were not an active force of economic progress in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but the local enterprises were energetic, even though not on such an expansive scale as the leading Italian companies. Even though the evidence is scanty, some forms of late Byzantine enterprise (shareholding in salt production, the “real estate industry,” the agrobusiness of the Argyropouloi) remind one of a “pre-capitalistic” organization of economy. In other words, even though it is impossible to affirm that Byzantium reached by the middle of the fourteenth century the stage of “pre-capitalist” entrepreneurship, there were in Byzantium individual entrepreneurs of the new type. Similarly, even though there was no Byzantine Renaissance of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, there were individual humanists who could find a common tongue with the cultural elite of the new northern Italy.

Recently, Oikonomides suggested the following picture of the late Byzantine economic evolution: “During the Palaiologan period, the large Byzantine cities developed similarities with Western ones, while the countryside remained faithful to tradition and, with time, came to look more and more oriental.”¹¹⁴ My observations seem to coincide with the first section of his statement, but they introduce, I suppose, certain nuances: the new tendencies (whether we call them “pre-capitalist” or not, does not matter) were noticeable not only in commerce proper but in dealings with city immovables and in what can conventionally be called “agrobusiness.” The late Byzantine enterprise found fertile soil in trading and leasing houses and in exploiting “improved” gardens, vineyards, and so on. Laiou’s “unexpected” observation concerning the export of grain from (war depleted) Thrace¹¹⁵ shows that this enterprise was far from being totally unsuccessful; probably, the countryside was not completely alien to new tendencies. Another nuance is the difference between lay (and aristocratic) enterprise and the monastic household that seems to be less businesslike, more traditional, and, at the same time, inclined to fleece energetic entrepreneurs when the judicial system and imperial support allowed monks to do so.

We often speak about the economic decline of Byzantium in the last centuries of its existence. Some scholars stress the external impact (Turkish invasion,¹¹⁶ Italian domination of the Byzantine market), others accuse feudal institutions¹¹⁷ or the clumsy role of

¹¹⁴Oikonomides, “Byzantium between East and West” (as in note 41), 321. Ks. Chvostova also questions (or at least, moderates) the theory of the economic crisis in the late Byzantine city (“Nekotorye voprosy,” 36–46); she stresses the development of the money economy in this period, but puts emphasis not on private entrepreneurship but on state policy and on the role of monastic institutions in trade and manufacture.

¹¹⁵Laiou, “Byzantine Economy” (as in note 16), 220. In an old (and forgotten) article by M. Andreeva (“Torgovyj dogovor Vizantii i Dubrovnika i istorija ego podgotovki,” *BSI* 6 [1935–36], 115–17, 127–30), we find important data on the flourishing agriculture in the Peloponnese of the fifteenth century and on the export of grain from “Romania” to Dubrovnik. According to Andreeva, in the fourteenth century Romania provided only 20% of the grain exported to Dubrovnik from the Sicilian kingdom; in the fifteenth century, the amount of importation from Romania increased significantly. I. Sakázov (“Bulgarische Wirtschaftsgeschichte,” in *Grundriss der slavischen Philologie und Kulturgeschichte* 5 [1929], 103 f), referring to Pegolotti, wrote that in Bulgaria the large estates had exported grain of good quality and in substantial amounts.

¹¹⁶The role of the Turkish invasion deserves a reconsideration: E. Zachariadou, “Ἐφήμερες ἀποπειρές γὰρ αὐτοδιοίκηση στίς ἐλληνικές πόλεις κατὰ τόν ΙΑ΄ καί ΙΕ΄ αἰῶνα,” *Ariadne* 5 (1989), 345–52, demonstrated that the Turkish raids, disrupting links between the provincial city and the capital, between the city and its countryside, contributed to the evolvement of urban independence and city self-administration.

¹¹⁷E. T. Gorjanov, “Vizantijskij gorod XIII–XV vv.,” *VizVrem* 13 (1958), 183, sees in “feudal relations” the major hindrance to the development of the late Byzantine city and the cause of its decline. In the revised

Constantinopolitan government. I would like to focus on two points in this regard: First of all, I have tried to show that the inactivity of the Byzantine tradesman is exaggerated. We should not forget that we have more Italian documents than Greek ones, and the quality of the Italian texts (referring to Italy) is incomparably better; they are richer in information. But there is one more aspect that is worth consideration—the crisis of the fourteenth century.

Viewed from outside, especially from Byzantium, the cities of northern Italy seem prosperous in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; in fact, however, the situation there was ambivalent or paradoxical. To use Herlihy's words, "the Italians of the Renaissance period would seem to have had the ingenuity, the business acumen, and the capital of the industrialization of production."¹¹⁸ But at the same time, the country suffered a grave decline of population,¹¹⁹ and the propertied classes invested substantial means in agriculture, draining capital from trade enterprises. The Tuscan city became a *città signorile*,¹²⁰ and acquired patrician or feudal character; Herlihy even speaks of *la disurbanizzazione* of the city.¹²¹ This phenomenon of the "feudalization" of the city had a broader expansion; thus, Barcelona underwent an economic decline from the second half of the fourteenth century that was reflected in the new ethical value—to live "noble," that is, on rent, without any participation in economic activities.¹²²

The "depression" or the "crisis" of the second half of the fourteenth century observable in both Italy and in some transalpine regions used to be explained, by various scholars, by the effect of the Black Death of 1348 and the subsequent demographic decline; it turned out that this decline became evident much before the plague struck. Michael Postan considered the "crisis" the consequence ("nemesis") of the "inordinate expansion" of the earlier Middle Ages.¹²³ The Black Death seems only to have aggravated the situation. At any rate, we do not know which effects the plague had on the Byzantine economy: its impact was serious in nearby Dubrovnik,¹²⁴ and it must have influenced Constan-

version of this article (in idem, *Pozdnevizantijskij feodalizm* [Moscow, 1962], 240–302), Gorjanov places emphasis on the detrimental impact of Italian merchants. The role of the "feudal factor" in the economic decline of Byzantium is stressed particularly in the article by G. L. Kurbatov and V. I. Rutenburg, "Ziloty i čompi," *VizVrem* 30 (1969), 12–16.

¹¹⁸Herlihy, "Family and Property" (as in note 27), 15.

¹¹⁹R. S. Lopez, "Market Expansion: The Case of Genoa," *Journal of Economic History* 24 (1964), 448, calculates the population of Genoa at the end of the thirteenth century at 100,000 and a hundred years thereafter at only 60,000. A similar decline can be observed in Florence and other Tuscan cities.

¹²⁰Herlihy, *Cities and Society*, art. XI, p. 189.

¹²¹Ibid. In his profound analysis of the movement of prices in fourteenth-century Florence, Ch.-M. de la Roncière (*Prix et salaires à Florence au XIV^e siècle* [Rome, 1982], 774–77) demonstrates the complexity of the European economy of that period, which reveals, at least partially, an "évolution régressive," "stagnation," and "une détérioration à court terme de la condition ouvrière."

¹²²J. S. Amelang, *Honored Citizens of Barcelona: Patrician Culture and Class Relations, 1490–1714* (Princeton, NJ, 1986). The decline took place also in old centers outside the Mediterranean, such as Ghent: see D. Nicholas, *The Metamorphosis of a Medieval City: Ghent in the Age of the Artevelde, 1302–1390* (Lincoln, Nebr.-London, 1987).

¹²³M. M. Postan, review of *L'économie rurale et la vie des campagnes dans l'Occident médiéval*, by G. Duby, *EHR* 16 (1963), 197.

¹²⁴A. Kazhdan, "Naemnyj trud v Dubrovniku v XIV veke," *Kratkie soobščeniia Instituta slavjanovedeniia AN SSSR* 17 (1955), 43–45. I. Manken, *Dubrovački patriciat u XIV veku* (Belgrade, 1960), 78, mentions in passing the influence of "the great epidemics" of 1348 and 1363 on the composition of the ruling families in Dubrov-

tinople and its vicinity, but we have no sources and can not but speculate on this topic. It is noteworthy that the scanty evidence concerning Byzantine "pre-capitalist" activity comes from the sources after 1348.

Whether the Black Death reversed the economic advance of Mediterranean cities, or the depression had more profound causes, one point may be stated—"pre-capitalist" development both in Italy and in Byzantium led to a cul-de-sac: neither in Tuscany nor in Constantinople nor in Thessalonike did a capitalist system of production develop. The next step was taken not in areas in which the medieval city reached its apex but on the outskirts of Europe, in England, where medieval town life did not flourish and where the borough, the country township, and not the noble city was the center of trading activity.¹²⁵ The major contrast in the late medieval economic development lay not between northern Italy and Byzantium but between the Mediterranean as an entity and "backward," "provincial" England, whose development was not fettered by the strong traditions of medieval urbanism.

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nik. B. Krekić, *Dubrovnik in the 14th and 15th Centuries: A City between East and West* (Norman, Okla., 1972), 40, states that "the middle of the fourteenth century witnessed great changes in the whole eastern coast of the Adriatic," but he limited these changes to political events, primarily to the conflict between Dubrovnik and Serbia (see p. 45). In the comprehensive monograph on Dubrovnik by S. M. Stuard (*A State of Deference: Ragusa/Dubrovnik in the Medieval Centuries* [Philadelphia, 1992]), the Black Plague is treated as a medical event (esp. pp. 46–49) with no reference to its economic significance except for the statement that "almost the entire Slavic migration to town occurred between 1348 and 1350" (p. 118). The Black Death and its impact on the "labor laws" in Dubrovnik is still waiting to be investigated.

¹²⁵E. A. Kosminskij, *Issledovanija po agrarnoj istorii Anglii XIII veka* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1947), 393 f; E. Carus-Wilson in *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, ed. M. Postan and E. Rich, II (Cambridge, 1952), 421 f.

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Women at Home

ALEXANDER P. KAZHDAN[†]

In recent years some scholars have tended to imagine Byzantine women as living in a male-dominated environment, in a military society where men inevitably exercised power, under the oppression of “patriarchy.”¹ It is not the purpose of this paper to reconsider the evidence invoked to demonstrate that Byzantine women were victims of sexual bias. Probably they formed politically a “second class,” despite a significant number of influential empresses; probably they formed a “second class” ideologically as well, despite the enormously important role of the Virgin Mary in all areas of spiritual life and despite the principle that sanctity is equally available to both genders and all ages. The goal of this paper is much more modest and limited: to examine the role of women within the household.

The study of this topic is hampered by the lack of adequate sources. Relevant documents are rare and come primarily from the later centuries. Archaeological data concerning private houses are sparse. Byzantine writers concentrated their attention on political and religious events, and only casually referred to everyday life within the private house. Since these authors often write about events and relationships of the past, the dating of the situation described becomes in many cases problematic: it is difficult to establish whether the author (especially a hagiographer) was describing relationships he could observe in his own day or repeated, more or less mechanically, information he had found in texts produced several hundred years before his birth.

There is another difficulty we must face: the contradictory nature of our sources. The causes of these contradictions are uncertain: they may be caused by the chronological distance separating different sources, by local particularities, or by the political, ethical, and religious views of the authors we use. I am far from claiming a final solution of the problem; this paper is no more than a cautious, tentative attempt to reconsider the idea of the Byzantine “patriarchy” and to demonstrate the lack of evidence that in everyday relations women were really oppressed by members of the other sex. I focus on relations

I am extremely grateful to Angeliki Laiou, Alice-Mary Talbot, and Sharon Gerstel for their help on this article.

¹The formulations by J. Herrin, “In Search of Byzantine Women: Three Avenues of Approach,” in *Images of Women in Antiquity*, ed. Av. Cameron and A. Kuhrt, 2nd ed. (Detroit, Mich., 1993), 167, and C. Galatariotou, “Holy Women and Witches: Aspects of Byzantine Conceptions of Gender,” *BMGS* 9 (1984–85), 56f, 78 n. 79. Milder is the statement by M. Angold, *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081–1261* (Cambridge, 1995), 440: “Women occupy an ambivalent role in a patriarchal society.”

between men and women in the ninth through twelfth centuries, only in exceptional cases referring to earlier or later periods, accompanying such cases with explanatory and warning provisos.

LITERARY EVIDENCE ON THE SECLUSION OF WOMEN

I begin with several well-known texts of the eleventh century. Michael Attaleiates, describing the earthquake of 1064, affirms that women, usually kept at home (θαλαμευόμενοι), were shaken by fear, forgot their shame, and ran to open places.² Even more explicit is a contemporary of Attaleiates, the author of the *Precepts and Anecdotes*, Kekaumenos. Cautious in every regard, Kekaumenos does not want to offer hospitality to his friends. "If you admit a friend to your house," he muses, "your wife, your daughters, and your daughters-in-law will be unable to leave their room (οἶκημα) and do the necessary housekeeping."³ He also advises: "Keep your daughters confined (ἐγκεκλεισμένοι) like criminals."⁴ A third writer, Michael Psellos, relates that during the riot of 1042 women who had never before been seen outside the women's quarters (γυναικωνίτιδος ἔξω) wreaked havoc publicly.⁵

If we move back to the ninth and tenth centuries, we find similar testimonies. John Kaminiates (whether his book was a contemporary account of the capture of Thessalonike in 904 or a 15th-century forgery) deplores the fate of his city plundered by the Arabs in 904; virgins, he laments, who had never stepped out of their household (οἰκουρία), who used to be safely preserved for marriage, were now scurrying through public squares in the company of other women.⁶ The *vita* of Philaretos the Merciful, written by his grandson Niketas of Amnia in the early ninth century, presents a similar situation observed from another viewpoint: when the emperor's envoys asked Philaretos to show them his daughters and granddaughters, the saint answered: "My lords, even though we are poor, our daughters never leave their room (κουβούκλιον); if you wish, my lords, enter the *koubouklion* and gaze at them."⁷ The father of Theophano, the future wife of Leo VI, never allowed his daughter to go out, except to the bathhouse, to which she was sent either late in the evening or early in the morning, accompanied by numerous servants and maids.⁸

We may add to these statements a passage from the hagiographical collection of Symeon Metaphrastes. Symeon lived and wrote in the second half of the tenth century, but he included in his collection of saints' lives older *vitae*, sometimes in their pristine form, sometimes substantially revised. Among other tales he relates the moving story of two

²Michael Attaleiates, *Historia*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1853), 88.13–15.

³*Sovety i rasskazy Kekavmena*, ed. G. Litavrin (Moscow, 1972), 202.16–18.

⁴*Ibid.*, 220.11–12.

⁵Michele Psello, *Imperatori di Bisanzio*, ed. S. Impellizzeri, I (Milan, 1984), 216: V:26.3–5.

⁶Ioannes Caminiates, *De expugnatione Thessalonicae*, ed. G. Böhlig (Berlin-New York, 1973), 35.66–70.

⁷M. H. Fourmy and M. Leroy, "La vie de s. Philarète," *Byzantion* 9 (1934), 139.31–34. Another redaction of the *vita* designates the women's quarters as οἰκίσκος; see A. Vasiliev, "Zhitie Filareta Milostivogo," *IRAİK* 5 (1900), 76.11–14.

⁸*BHG* 1794, ed. E. Kurtz, "Zwei griechische Texte über die hl. Theophano, die Gemahlin Kaisers Leo VI.," *Zapiski Akademii nauk* 8, istor.-filol., 3.2 (1898), 3.25–30.

fourth-century martyrs, the siblings Eulampios and Eulampia: after Eulampios' arrest his sister left the maidens' quarters (παρθενικῶν θαλάμων) and mixed with the crowd, exposing herself to men's stares; this statement belongs to Symeon himself and is absent from the anonymous martyrion preceding Symeon's menologion.⁹ We do not know when the earlier martyrion was written, but the observation concerning "maidens' quarters" was made by the tenth-century hagiographer.

Some late Byzantine sources describe the confinement of women in a similar manner: according to Doukas, the Ottomans who captured Constantinople in 1453 bound young men together with virgins upon whom the sun had never shone and whom even their fathers had rarely seen.¹⁰ A similar formula is employed in the Trebizond redaction of the epic of Digenes Akritas: "Digenes looked at and spoke to the [girl] whom the sun had never seen";¹¹ her seclusion did not, however, prevent her from giving Digenes a ring and asking the young knight not to forget her. A well-informed outsider, Francesco Filelfo, who visited Constantinople in 1420–27 and married a Greek woman, asserted that noble Byzantine matrons never conversed either with strangers or their fellow citizens, and never left their houses, except in the dark, with covered faces and accompanied by servants or relatives.¹²

Here is a series of independent sources, produced in different chronological periods, the authors of which unanimously emphasize the existence of a system of confinement of women. At the same time there is a broad gamut of other texts showing that Byzantine women moved freely, were economically active, participated in political and religious conflicts, in charitable activity, and did not abstain from extramarital love affairs.¹³ If we believe Attaleiates, or Psellos, or Doukas, women were hardly allowed to see the sun, but in the *vita* of Antony the Younger we find a different picture. When an Arab fleet approached Attaleia and the enemy prepared to attack the city, Antony (serving at that time as the governor of Attaleia) ordered all the population capable of bearing arms to take their places on the city walls; there were not only men but young women as well, disguised in male apparel.¹⁴ In the eighth century, we are told, women and children participated in the public slaughter of Stephen the Younger.¹⁵

Let us turn again to a questionable source, Symeon Metaphrastes, who in the tenth century revised the old legend of St. Thekla which relates that Thekla, upon arrival in Antioch, was attacked by the rich nobleman Alexander; since she refused to follow him, he tried to drag her to the magistrate. Symeon supplements this skeletal episode of the original with a picture of women who were present at the attack and who "felt sympathy with their gender and considered this event as their common business"; shouting "A

⁹BHG 617, ed. PG 115:1060D; cf. AASS, Oct. 5:75A.

¹⁰Ducas, *Istoria Turco-Byzantinā*, ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest, 1958), 367.9–10.

¹¹*Digenes Akrites*, ed. E. Trapp (Vienna, 1971), 185.1732–33.

¹²S. Moraitis, "Sur un passage de Chalcondyle relatif aux Anglais," *REG* 1 (1888), 97; see L. Bréhier, "La femme dans la famille à Byzance," *AIPHOS* 9 (1949), 108.

¹³See, for instance, L. Garland, "The Life and Ideology of Byzantine Women," *Byzantion* 58 (1988), 361–93.

¹⁴BHG 142, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Sylloge Palaistines kai Syriakes hagiologias* (PPSb 19.3 [1907]), 199.1–4.

¹⁵BHG 1666, ed. PG 100:1177A.

bad solution!" they gathered before the seat of the *hegemon*.¹⁶ Certainly, Symeon was not astonished at a throng of women in the streets of a big city.

Another episode related to women's participation in male entertainment, to the best of my knowledge, has not yet been used by scholars in their study of feminine independence. According to Niketas of Amnia, female family members were not permitted to participate in the dinner his grandfather Philaretos arranged in the eighth century for the envoys from Constantinople; we find quite a different picture in the twelfth century. Niketas Choniates describes a banquet given by Emperor Isaac II Angelos, during which the basileus asked to be passed some salt; ἐνέγκατέ μοι ἄλας were his words.¹⁷ But the Greek ἄλας (salt) sounds exactly like ἄλλας, "other [women]," and the mime Chaliboures immediately played on the similarity of the two words. "Let us come to know these," he exclaimed, referring evidently to women who attended the banquet, "and then command others to be brought in."¹⁸

Thus our sources are ambivalent: on the one hand, we hear that women were confined within the women's quarters and, on the other, they moved freely, participated in economic activities, attended banquets. How can such a dichotomy be resolved?

A. Laiou has suggested what may be called a historical approach.¹⁹ Referring to Attaleiates' statement that women were normally confined to their homes, she called it "the last [evidence] to show the gynaeceum as part of social reality." She discarded then as an archaism the passage in Eustathios of Thessalonike's twelfth-century commentary on John of Damascus²⁰ in which Eustathios explained the homonymy of the word κόρη, which meant both "maiden" and "pupil of the eye." He says: "This [word] *kore* is [also] applied metaphorically (κατὰ ἀναφοράν) to the *kore* of the eye, our beloved [part of the body], since each virgin-*kore* is beloved by [her] loving parents; they deem it worthy to [keep her] guarded (φυλακῆς) like the pupil of our eye, likewise confined (θαλαμευομένη) under the eyelids." Laiou is absolutely right: the situation of women in the twelfth century differed substantially from that in the preceding centuries,²¹ and we can hardly expect Byzantine women to be locked in women's quarters in the days of Eustathios. As for the observation made by Filelfo, she cautiously acknowledges that "he may have been describing a new reality." Thus, according to Laiou, women were confined in Byzantium up to the eleventh century, more or less emancipated in the twelfth, and confined again in the new social conditions on the eve of the fall of Constantinople.

Another approach to the problem is, however, not impossible. In the formulation of M. Angold with regard to the issue of the confinement of women, "there was a discrep-

¹⁶BHG 1719, ed. PG 115:833c; cf. BHG 1717, ed. G. Dagron, *Vie et Miracles de sainte Thècle* (Brussels, 1978), par. 15.

¹⁷Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. J. L. van Dieten (Berlin-New York, 1975), 441.23 (hereafter NikChon). The difficulty in the interpretation of this passage consists in the possibility that Chaliboures could have meant actresses brought in for the entertainment of the male company; such an explanation, however, is not mandatory.

¹⁸*O City of Byzantium: Annals of Niketas Choniates*, trans. H. Magoulias (Detroit, Mich., 1984), 242.

¹⁹A. Laiou, "The Role of Women in Byzantine Society," *JÖB* 31.1 (1981), 249–60.

²⁰PG 136:732bc.

²¹See also A. Kazhdan and A. Wharton Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Berkeley, Calif., 1985), 101f.

ancy between stereotype and reality,”²² or the usual ambivalence of Byzantine society. Let us come back to the statements concerning “confinement” and analyze them more carefully. The first jarring note is our authors’ disagreement with regard to who was confined in the women’s quarters—all women, or only noble women, or only young unmarried maidens (“virgins”). Second, our authors present primarily cases when the “rule of confinement” was broken—by natural or political disasters, or by the intrusion of strangers, whether friends of the family or imperial envoys. Finally, it is noteworthy that the terms for the place of confinement are varied: it seems that there was no single specific term to designate women’s quarters. The expression γυναικείος οἶκος²³ meant in the Byzantine vocabulary not a gynaeceum but a convent. Ph. Koukoules, who believed in the seclusion of Byzantine women, listed various names for the parts of the Byzantine house; he did not include, however, any specific term for the rooms assigned to women.²⁴

To summarize: while the works of Eustathios are unquestionably metaphorical, the sentences of Attaleiates or Psellos or other writers quoted above present another rhetorical figure of speech—hyperbole (“Even the fathers rarely saw their daughters”), and they should not be taken at face value. Theodore of Stoudios, in his panegyric of his mother, praised her for keeping her daughter away from men’s gaze and prohibiting the girl to wear jewelry;²⁵ it would be far-fetched to assert, on the basis of this sentence, that young girls in Byzantium did not experience the joy of expensive adornment. In fact, the sentence implies that it was normal for Byzantine girls to be exposed to men’s gaze and to wear jewelry. The meaning of the statements collected above is: “Our women and especially our maidens are chaste, and their appearance in public would contradict the image of the role model that our society has created.” This is a moral (“ideological”) construct, not actual reality. Only if we find palpable traces of the Byzantine gynaeceum shall we be entitled to speak about the confinement of women in the empire of the Rhomaioi.

It goes without saying that Byzantine empresses had their private chambers that were well guarded and off-limits to strangers. Empress Zoe used them for feminine pursuits, the manufacture of fragrant unguents, but other Byzantine queens preferred wielding power to concerns about eternal beauty. Pulcheria, the elder sister of Theodosios II, or Theodora, the famous wife of Justinian I, are inappropriate examples, since they belong to the proto-Byzantine period, and I strongly believe that the empire underwent a drastic change in social and political structure in the seventh century. But we can easily find later examples of women who administered imperial power, such as Irene, Constantine VI’s mother; Theodora, widow of Emperor Theophilos; Zoe Karbonopsis, the dowager queen mother of Constantine VII; or Anna Dalassene, in whom her son Alexios I placed absolute trust.

²²Angold, *Church and Society*, 433.

²³BHG 65, ed. H. Delehaye, *Les saints stylites* (Brussels, 1923), 161.17–18. R. F. Taft, in his paper in this volume entitled “Women at Church in Byzantium: Where, When—and Why?” has persuasively shown (pp. 31ff, 86–87) that a term from the same root, γυναικίτης, designated a part of the church building that by no means was reserved for women only.

²⁴On the inner rooms of the house, including the kitchen, see Ph. Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός*, IV (Athens, 1951), 294–313. The short paragraph on the θαλάμεις (II [1948], 166–68) does not contain data other than those cited at the beginning of this article.

²⁵PG 99:888A.

It is clear that empresses moved outside their private chambers. Michael III invited his mother Theodora to his quarters to play a practical joke on her: she was shortsighted and did not recognize the court jester under his patriarchal attire. The pious Theophano, Leo VI's spouse, freely moved around Constantinople and deplored her misfortune to the *hegoumenos* Euthymios, the future patriarch. And I doubt that the Georgian princess Maria, the wife of Michael VII and subsequently of Nikephoros III, whom the young Alexios Komnenos obviously courted, was a victim of seclusion. We had better leave the empresses aside as an atypical case: the private chambers of the empress did not differ much from the *kouboukleion* of the emperor, also secluded, also inaccessible to strangers, men and women alike.

Did noble ladies have their quarters of seclusion? The most striking case to the contrary is the story of Andronikos Komnenos' incestuous love affair with the niece of Emperor Manuel I, a young widow named Eudokia.²⁶ She followed him to the military camp at Pelagonia where she stayed in a tent²⁷ without prompting anyone's amazement. Her blood relations surrounded the tent but failed to catch Andronikos. The romantic episode is well known from the account of Ch. Diehl, so I shall spare the reader the savory details. What matters for our purposes is the noble lady dwelling in a tent in a military camp, and not in a gynaeceum. But this is the twelfth century.

Probably the most famous Byzantine description of an aristocratic mansion is that of the "palace" built by Digenes Akritas on the Euphrates.²⁸ Within a fence there was a three-story building behind which a second house was constructed. The mansion also included a tower with a cruciform triklinos (another version speaks of ἀνδρῶνες σταυροειδεῖς) and two other chambers, two *chamotriklinoi* (the halls on the ground floor?), a church of St. Theodore, a bathhouse, and guest houses; the buildings were surrounded by a gorgeous garden and adorned by mosaics. Not only is there no place for women's quarters in this description, but the author fixes our attention on the togetherness of the life of both sexes: Digenes' mother is said to live in the "glorious house" with her son and daughter-in-law, and at the signal for meals Digenes appears with his wife and immediately afterward "his most beautiful mother" enters.

Certainly, the epic of Digenes is an enigmatic text. The long-standing discussion as to whether the Escorial or Grottaferrata version is primary is far from settled,²⁹ but it has little relevance to our problem, since the longest description of the mansion survives in the Trebizond redaction, whereas the two main versions preserve only scraps of the picture. The date of the epic is under discussion as well: H. Grégoire's view that the epic

²⁶NikChon, 104f.

²⁷Magoulias, *O City*, 60, translates, "He [Andronikos] was lying in the woman's embraces in *his* tent." The Greek text, however, has no possessive pronoun; Choniates just says ἐπὶ σκηνῆς (NikChon 104.49). Since we are told later that Andronikos jumped out of the tent leaving Eudokia behind, and that she was able to suggest her lover disguise himself in a woman's dress and call her maidservants by name (105.59–61), the scene evidently took place in *her* tent. According to Ch. Diehl (*Figures byzantines*, II [Paris, 1938], 95–98), Andronikos joined his mistress "dans la tente qu'elle occupait."

²⁸*Digenes Akrites*, ed. Trapp, 326–43. On it, see A. Xyngopoulos, "Τὸ ἀνάκτορον τοῦ Διγενῆ Ἀκρίτα," *Laographia* 12 (1948), 547–88; M. Andronikos, "Τὸ παλάτι τοῦ Διγενῆ Ἀκρίτα," *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς σχολῆς Θεσσαλονίκης* 11 (1969), 7–15.

²⁹See the survey of the problem in C. Galatariotou, "The Primacy of the Escorial Digenes Akrites: An Open and Shut Case?" in *Digenes Akrites: New Approaches to Byzantine Heroic Poetry*, ed. R. Beaton and D. Ricks (Aldershot, 1993), 38–54.

originated in a Paulician milieu around 900³⁰ seems to have been rejected and forgotten; A. Syrkin, in a monograph practically unknown in the West, placed the composition of the poem between the 970s and 1020s;³¹ H. G. Beck distinguished the “Emir-Lied” of the tenth century from the “Digenes-Roman” of the eleventh or twelfth century;³² according to P. Magdalino, the Grottaferrata version fits well into the revival of the twelfth century,³³ while S. Alexiou dates the Escorial redaction to the early twelfth century.³⁴ The problem of Digenes’ residence becomes even more complicated if one takes into consideration M. Andronikos’ suggestion that an ancient source (Plato) could have influenced the description of the mansion, or the assumption of N. Oikonomides that the epic reflects relations in Asia Minor in the tenth and eleventh centuries. We may reach only a very limited and negative result: the author of the epic does not mention the existence of a gynaeceum.

In contrast to *Digenes Akritas*, the will (*diataxis*) of Michael Attaleiates of 1077 (the same Attaleiates who asserted that all noble ladies in Byzantium were confined in women’s quarters until the earthquake of 1064 shook and shocked Byzantine society) is a precisely dated documentary source.³⁵ In this will Attaleiates describes two houses he transferred to the poorhouse he founded in Rhaidestos: one located in Rhaidestos and the other in Constantinople. Attaleiates found the house in Rhaidestos completely demolished, and its restoration was costly; later on, Attaleiates joined other properties to it and “made a single house” (27.155) that he intended to use for storage of products of all kinds. The second house Attaleiates bought from his aunt Anastaso in the capital; its description is more detailed. The house had a hall on the ground floor (κατώγειον τοῦ τρικλίνου) facing the courtyard of another house as well as a gallery (ήλιακός), and a three-story room (τρίπατον κουβούκλειον) where a donkey-driven mill was positioned (29.179). No women’s quarters were mentioned in the *diataxis*. Certainly, an *argumentum ex silentio* is not proof, but in any case Attaleiates does not confirm the existence of the Byzantine gynaeceum.

The tenth-century *vita* of Basil the Younger introduces us to a different world of humble people. One of them is Theodora, the faithful servant of the saint, who in her youth was a maiden slave in a noble house in Constantinople. Married by the order of her master, she gave birth to two children; after her spouse’s death, she brought up her children alone. The master provided her with a tiny cell located in the vestibule (προαύλιον) of the mansion,³⁶ not a good place for women’s quarters. Another minor female character of the *vita* is Melitine, the wife of the *misthios* Alexander. She obviously was not

³⁰H. Grégoire, “Notes on the Byzantine Epic,” *Byzantion* 15 (1940–41), 92–103.

³¹A. Syrkin, *Poema o Digenise Akrite* (Moscow, 1964), 140.

³²H. G. Beck, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Volksliteratur* (Munich, 1971), 96; cf. N. Oikonomides, “L’‘épopée’ de Digénis et la frontière orientale de Byzance aux Xe et XIe siècles,” *TM* 7 (1979), 375–97.

³³P. Magdalino, “Digenes Akrites and Byzantine Literature: The Twelfth-Century Background to the Grottaferrata Version,” in *Digenes Akrites*, ed. Beaton and Ricks (as above, note 29), 1–14. Cf. R. Beaton, “Cappadocians at Court: Digenes and Timarion,” in *Alexios I Komnenos*, ed. M. Mullett and D. Smythe, I (Belfast, 1996), 330–33.

³⁴S. Alexiou, “Ἱστορικά καὶ γεωγραφικά στὸν Διγενῆ Ἀκρίτη,” in *Εὐφρόσυνον: Ἀφιέρωμα στὸν Μ. Χατζηδάκη*, I (Athens, 1991), 39.

³⁵P. Gautier, “La Diataxis de Michel Attaliat,” *REB* 39 (1981), 5–143. On this document, see P. Lemerle, *Cinq études sur le XIe siècle byzantin* (Paris, 1977), 65–112.

³⁶BHG 264b, ed. S. G. Vilinskij, *Zhitie sv. Vasilija Novogo v russkoj literature* (Odessa, 1911), 301.5–6. On Theodora, see Ch. Angelide, “Δοῦλοι στὴν Κωνσταντινούπολη τὸν 10^ο αἰ.,” *Symmeikta* 6 (1985), 40f.

confined to a gynaeceum, since she slept with almost all the men in the neighborhood, and even tried to seduce Gregory, the author of the *vita*, following him brazenly in the daytime.³⁷

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE ON WOMEN'S QUARTERS IN BYZANTIUM

We have some, albeit few, archaeological remains of Byzantine houses. Will their examination substantiate or contradict the possibility of the existence of women's quarters in the abodes of the ordinary citizens of the empire? Before moving into this field I have to emphasize that I claim no professional knowledge of Byzantine architecture, but hope that my ineptitude and the desire to correct my mistakes will attract archaeologists to the problem. It has been frequently stressed that the history of the private house in Byzantium has not yet been properly studied. The only general study, that by L. de Beylié,³⁸ is hopelessly obsolete, and the data referring to the period after the late Roman Empire are scanty and not yet summarized.³⁹ Scholarly evaluation of the development of private buildings ranges from emphasis on the preservation of the ancient architectural tradition⁴⁰ to the idea of radical change at the end of the late Roman period.⁴¹ It is quite natural, in such a state of investigation, that my notes are extremely tentative.

Let us assume, together with S. Ellis, that the construction of Roman peristyle houses ended around the middle of the sixth century, and simultaneously a system of "subdivision" was developed. By the term "subdivision" Ellis understands the creation of small rooms inside preexisting buildings which were turned into collections of small apartments. Evidently, these communities of small apartments are not compatible with the concept of closed women's quarters, such as is suggested by the ground plan of a large and rich Athenian house from the fourth century (House B on the Areopagus),⁴² which allows one to assume the possibility of a gynaeceum; in any event, on the opposite (east) side from the main unit, there was a smaller court, with a well, surrounded by small rooms; this court formed an independent unit, access to which was only through a passageway. It is premature to express an opinion concerning the frequency of such a plan.

Houses of the tenth through twelfth centuries were built on a different plan (I leave aside the question of whether this plan reproduces the ancient tradition or not). A Corinthian house in the southwest quarter consisted of four rooms situated on two sides of a courtyard that was enclosed on the other sides by two(?) buildings. The north room probably served for storage. A door on the east side of the courtyard led to a smaller room behind which lay the largest chamber of the complex, divided into two sections by a pair

³⁷ Vilinskij, *Zhitie*, 320f.

³⁸ L. de Beylié, *L'habitation byzantine* (Grenoble-Paris, 1902).

³⁹ A survey was suggested by Ch. Bouras in "Houses in Byzantium," *Δελτ.Χριστ.Αρχ.Ετ.* 11 (1982-83), 1-26; cf. his "Κατοικίες καὶ οἰκισμοὶ στὴ βυζαντινὴ Ἑλλάδα," in *Οἰκισμοὶ στὴν Ἑλλάδα*, ed. D. B. Doumanes and P. Oliver (Athens, 1974), 30-52.

⁴⁰ A. Kriesis, *Greek Town Building* (Athens, 1965), 185f; cf. J. Travlos, *Παλαιοδομικὴ ἐξέλιξις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν* (Athens, 1960).

⁴¹ Especially in the works by S. Ellis, "The End of the Roman House," *AJA* 92 (1988), 565-76, and "La casa," in *La civiltà bizantina: Oggetti e messaggio* (Rome, 1993), 167-226. Cf. J.-P. Sodini, "L'habitat urbain en Grèce à la veille des invasions," in *Villes et peuplement dans l'Illyricum protobyzantin* (Paris, 1984), 396.

⁴² A. Frantz, *Late Antiquity: A.D. 267-700*, *The Athenian Agora* 24 (Princeton, N.J., 1988), 39f.

of columns.⁴³ Obviously, there is no place for a separate gynaeceum in this house: the life of the family had to be concentrated in the large room partitioned by columns. A twelfth-century one-story farmhouse at Armatova (in Elis) consisted of three small interconnected rooms (one with the outline of rectangular benches) and a wooden shelter or lean-to (a barn or kitchen?);⁴⁴ there is no persuasive trace of women's quarters in the plan. A similar phenomenon is noted in the tenth-century foundation in Messenian Nichoria (Peloponnesos): the main chamber forms a rectangular space to which an apsidal oven is annexed; another rectangular room directly adjoins the main hall's north wall.⁴⁵ The tenth-century houses in Cherson usually had a courtyard with sheds for storage; the courtyard separated the house from the street (later the courtyards were positioned mostly behind the houses), and the entrance to the buildings led through the courtyard. Several independent two-story buildings surrounded the courtyard; they had storage areas on the ground floor (sometimes dug-in), the access to which was only through the second floor;⁴⁶ there is thus no place for isolated women's quarters in the private houses of Cherson. The later (ca. 1250) settlement of Geraki (Lakonian plain)⁴⁷ included primarily two-story rectangular buildings in which the upper floor served as a dwelling area; it had a separate entrance, which means that the room was not secluded.

In these ordinary houses, emphasis was laid on the privacy of the whole unit separated from the street⁴⁸ (even though each locality formed, in principle, a community of several houses with its own square and chapel) and not on the privacy of the individual sections that might have been assigned to women. Later documents (from 14th-century Thessalonike) also show ordinary houses connected with the outer world only through a gateway between the courtyard and the street.⁴⁹ A Hebrew marriage contract of 1022 from the town of Mastaura on the Meander River describes the dowry of a certain Eudokia as well as gifts she received from her bridegroom and his mother; Eudokia's mother-in-law conferred on the bride the ground floor of her house with an entrance facing the river.⁵⁰ This room opening to the outer world is a far cry from our perception of a closed space assigned to women. A will of 1049 originating from a Greek community in South Italy conveys a different story: Gemma, the owner, bequeaths to the sons of her nephew Leo a house or room (οἶκημα) in which she had slept (κατακέκλιμαι).⁵¹ The wom-

⁴³ R. L. Scranton, *Mediaeval Architecture in the Central Area of Corinth*, Corinth 16 (Princeton, N.J., 1957), 66f.

⁴⁴ J. Coleman, "Excavation of a Site (Elean Pylos) near Agraridochori," *Αρχ.Δελτ.* 24.2 (1969), 157 and plan 4. A similar ground plan is found in some Byzantine houses in the Mani. See T. Moschos and L. Moschou, "Παλαιομανιάτικα: Οἱ βυζαντινοὶ ἀγροτικοὶ οἰκισμοὶ τῆς Λακωνικῆς Μάνης," *Αρχαιολογικά Ἀνάλεκτα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν* 14.1 (1981), 19–22, plan 3.

⁴⁵ W. A. McDonald, W. D. E. Coulson, and F. Rosser, *Excavations at Nichoria in Southwest Greece*, III (Minneapolis, Minn., 1983), 361.

⁴⁶ A. L. Jakobson, *Rannesrednevekovyj Khersones* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1959), 296f. For the later period, see his *Srednevekovyj Khersones (XII–XIV vv.)* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1950), 86f.

⁴⁷ A. M. Simatou and R. Christodouloupoulou, "Παρατηρήσεις στὸν μεσαιωνικὸ οἰκισμὸ τοῦ Γερακίου," *Δελτ. Χριστ. Αρχ.* 15 (1991), 71–83.

⁴⁸ Bouras, "Houses in Byzantium," 24f.

⁴⁹ D. Papachryssanthou, "Maisons modestes à Thessalonique au XIVe siècle," in *Ἀμνηστὸς στὴ μνήμη Φώτῃ Ἀποστολοπούλου* (Athens, 1984), 260f.

⁵⁰ Th. Reinach, "Un contrat de mariage du temps de Basile le Bulgaroktone," in *Mélanges offerts à G. Schlumberger*, I (Paris, 1924), 123, no. VII.

⁵¹ G. Robinson, *History and Cartulary of the Greek Monastery of St. Elias and St. Anastasius of Carbone* (Rome, 1929), doc. IV, 53.20–22.

an's bedchamber is here transferred to two young men, and had, most probably, no specific features of women's quarters.

A slight alteration made by Symeon Metaphrastes in the legend of St. Spyridon probably shows the tendency of development of the inner space of the family house. In the original *vita*, written by Theodore of Paphos in the middle of the seventh century, we read about the death of Spyridon's daughter Irene. Soon after she died, a woman came to Spyridon claiming that Irene had borrowed from her some jewelry that must still be in his house. He went to the storage room (ταμειῖον) and searched the whole house (οἶκος), but found nothing. Spyridon had no other recourse but to ask Irene herself where she had put the jewelry that she received as a deposit, and the dead girl explained it to him.⁵² Symeon Metaphrastes, preserving the main elements of the episode, says however that Spyridon searched through "her whole *oikos*" and adds below, "in the room (οἰκίσκον) of his daughter."⁵³ Irene of the tenth century had her room in the paternal house, but this room does not look like a gynaecium.

We have to be very cautious: in the Ottoman house the harem that definitely existed did not form an architecturally separate, isolated part of the building as was common in Arab regions,⁵⁴ and the case of Eudokia's apartment cited above refers to a Jewish minority whose customs could differ from the habits of the dominant Greek populace. The only conclusion we may risk is that neither archaeology nor written texts confirm the existence of a Byzantine gynaecium—they compel us neither to deny nor to accept its existence.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE HOUSEHOLD

It has been emphasized many times that the nuclear family was the center of Byzantine society and that women unquestionably played an important part in family life.⁵⁵ There are some indications that Byzantine law, after the eighth century, acknowledged a certain increase in women's property rights and in women's legal protection.⁵⁶ Leaving aside both legislation and applied law as reflected in private documents and court decisions, I draw attention to the everyday situation within the family. Again I begin with a text that has been studied many times: the laments of the henpecked husband in the first poem of Ptochoprodromos.⁵⁷ The story of a man who had to come to his own house disguised as a beggar in order to get some food from his despotic wife is obviously a caricature, but there are more serious texts showing the leading role of the mother within the family. Two great Byzantine writers, Theodore of Stoudios⁵⁸ and Michael Psellos,⁵⁹ devoted special panegyrics to their mothers, and Christopher of Mitylene praised his

⁵² P. van den Ven, *La légende de s. Spyridon évêque de Trimithonte* (Louvain, 1953), 34–36.

⁵³ PG 116:436CD.

⁵⁴ S. Ellis, "Privacy in Byzantine and Ottoman Houses," *ByzF* 16 (1991), 156.

⁵⁵ Laiou, "The Role of Women," 233–41.

⁵⁶ J. Beaucamp, "La situation juridique de la femme à Byzance," *CahCM* 20 (1977), 164–74.

⁵⁷ D. C. Hesseling and H. Pernot, *Poèmes prodromiques en grec vulgaire* (Amsterdam, 1910), 30–37; new ed. (with German trans.) by H. Eideneier, *Ptochoprodromos* (Cologne, 1991), 99–107, 177–85. On this poem, see P. Speck, "Interpolations et non-sens indiscutables," *Varia* 1 (1984), 273–309; cf. Angold, *Church and Society*, 437f.

⁵⁸ *BHG* 2422, ed. PG 99:883–902.

⁵⁹ K. N. Sathas, *Mesaionike Bibliothek*, V (Athens, 1876; repr. Hildesheim, 1972), 3–61.

mother as an energetic and prudent housewife, eager to provide the family with food, supervising the work of the housemaids.⁶⁰ Even Neophytos the Recluse, whom C. Galatariotou describes as a consistent misogynist, appears, in her own words, “to have been directed more towards his mother than his father.”⁶¹ On the other hand, to the best of my knowledge, no Byzantine rhetorician ever produced a eulogy of his father. Gregory of Nazianzus wrote several funeral speeches for his close relatives—a brother, a sister, and his father—but Gregory’s is an early text. Niketas of Amnia wrote a *vita* of his grandfather Philaretos, but depicted him as a failure in providing for his family. Anna Komnene panegyricized Alexios I as a statesman rather than the man of the family, and even in her *Alexiad* many warm words are addressed to her mother Irene Doukaina and her grandmother Anna Dalassene. “Byzantine eulogies of women tend to be confined to mother figures,” says Galatariotou, who emphasizes the patriarchal nature of Byzantine society, but what is significant is not the interest in the “mother figure,” but the lack of the “father figure” in Byzantine rhetorical collections.

The stereotype is a powerful tool of intellectual impact on society, and it was a Byzantine hagiographical stereotype to present the strong ties between mother and child, and not those between the father and his progeny. If we believe Ignatios the Deacon, both Patriarch Tarasios and Patriarch Nikephoros were brought up by their mothers, and Methodios gives the same information about the youthful Theophanes. Probably we need an exhaustive statistical study of hagiographical discourses that I am unable to provide, but it will suffice, for the time being, to note that Symeon Metaphrastes, the tireless collector of saints’ *vitae*, gives numerous examples of ties between mother and child. In his panegyric for the apostle Timothy, Symeon praises the hero’s grandmother Lois and mother Eunike, whereas his father is characterized as Hellene (= pagan) and daniel in the good grain of Timothy’s kin, as a thorn sprouting up among roses.⁶² A similar situation is described in the *vita* of Clement of Ankyra: the saint’s mother Sophia was a good Christian, while her husband belonged to the Hellenic faction and tried to convert her to the false faith. Clement is described as “the child of the woman,” and she as his “father, teacher, and mother” simultaneously.⁶³ St. Eleutherios was a son of a noble but impious father, while his mother Euanthia followed the teaching of the apostle Paul; it was she who gave the saint his name and brought him up in good and free principles.⁶⁴ Euboule, the pious mother of St. Panteleimon, was married to Eustorgios, notorious for his ungodliness, and naturally it was the mother who educated the future saint;⁶⁵ only later did Eustorgios convert to Christianity. The early *passio* of St. Euphemia calls her the daughter of the senator Philophron and the pious woman Theodosiane. The later version of Symeon Metaphrastes diligently develops the theme of Theodorosiane’s (*sic*) religious faith: she was extremely pious and orderly, she revealed to the poor that she was truly God’s gift (he plays on the revised name of the woman), stretching out to them her generous

⁶⁰ *Die Gedichte des Christophoros Mitylenaios*, ed. E. Kurtz (Leipzig, 1903), no. 57.

⁶¹ Galatariotou, “Holy Women” (as above, note 1), 81.

⁶² *BHG* 1841, ed. PG 114:761A. Symeon stresses that Timothy was educated by his mother (col. 761B).

⁶³ *BHG* 353, ed. PG 114:816AB, 817A.

⁶⁴ *BHG* 571, ed. PG 115:128A. Unlike Symeon, the author of an anonymous martyrion omits the topic of the father’s impiety: the husband of Anthia is said to belong to the extremely noble family of “Anikeoroi”; see P. Franchi de’ Cavalieri, *I martiri di s. Theodoto e di s. Ariadne*, ST 6 (Vatican City, 1901), 149.5–7.

⁶⁵ *BHG* 1414, ed. PG 115:448C.

and benevolent hand;⁶⁶ at the same time Symeon omits the passage of the early *passio* that the saint was buried by her mother and father.⁶⁷ We also find in Symeon's collection a saintly woman Anastasia married to an impious husband with whom she, naturally, had no sexual intercourse.⁶⁸ In his menologion can be found another Anastasia, also married to a pagan and also avoiding sexual intercourse.⁶⁹ There is also a story about the parents of St. Abramios who urged him to take a wife—the mother entreating, the father commanding.⁷⁰ In all these cases the woman is better or milder than her spouse. A slight alteration in the martyrion of Artemios is typical of Metaphrastes: the original version written by a certain John (Damascene or Rhodios) states that Constantine [the Great], the son of Constans and the blessed Helen, rejected the “foolish deception of idols”; Symeon replaces the gender-neutral epithet μάταιος with the adjective πάτριος, the first meaning of which is “of the father.”⁷¹ The martyr Eustratios, in another *passio*, announces that he was Christian “from maternal swaddling clothes.”⁷² “Paternal” has a bad connotation, “maternal” a good one.

In several Metaphrastic discourses, fathers are simply omitted: a widow supported by her son recovered the head of the centurion Longinus;⁷³ Symeon presents the wealthy Phrygella, healed by St. Averkios, as the mother of Poplion who held topmost dignities in Hierapolis, without mentioning her husband.⁷⁴ Three infants, victims of Emperor Numerianus, are presented solely as children of their mother Christodoule.⁷⁵ Three young girls—Theoktiste, Theodote, and Eudoxia—are featured in the *vita* of Kyros and John together with their mother Athanasia,⁷⁶ while the father is not mentioned. The female apostle Thekla is described as a daughter of Theokleia who betrothed Thekla against her will;⁷⁷ again there is no father in the narrative. Symeon begins his account of St. Hieron with the statement that his fatherland was Tyana in Cappadocia and his mother Stratonike was a pious woman;⁷⁸ later we read that Stratonike was a widow, that Hieron was concerned about his mother's solitude, and that his cut-off hand was carried to his mother.

To summarize: Symeon Metaphrastes not only found in his sources the stereotype of close ties between mothers and their children (especially sons), but also reinforced this idea by certain additions, changes, and omissions. Probably not only mother-son relations were strong in Byzantium, but also the relations between nephews and maternal

⁶⁶ BHG 626, ed. F. Halkin, *Euphémie de Chalcédoine* (Brussels, 1965), 146.19–22; cf. *ibid.*, 14.16–17.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 33.1–2.

⁶⁸ BHG 77, ed. PG 115:1296A.

⁶⁹ BHG 82, ed. PG 116:576f.

⁷⁰ BHG 8, ed. PG 115:45c.

⁷¹ John of Damascus, *Die Schriften*, ed. B. Kotter, V (Berlin, 1988), 204, par. 5.4–6; PG 115:1160BC (BHG 172).

⁷² BHG 646, ed. PG 116:473c.

⁷³ BHG 989, ed. PG 115:40c.

⁷⁴ BHG 4, ed. Th. Nissen, *Abercii vita* (Leipzig, 1912), 97.25–28.

⁷⁵ Martyrion of St. Babylas, BHG 206, ed. PG 114:976A. Numerianus first of all asked them whether they had a mother (col. 973D).

⁷⁶ BHG 471, ed. PG 114:1241.

⁷⁷ BHG 1719, ed. PG 115:824c.

⁷⁸ BHG 750, ed. PG 116:109A. There is no such sentence at the beginning of the earlier martyrion; Stratonike appears only in a later paragraph about her widowhood (AASS, Nov. 3:331F).

uncles, as, for instance, in the case of Platon of Sakkoudion and Theodore of Stoudios. The theme of the Byzantine avunculate has not yet been touched upon.

There is a scene in the martyrion of St. Catherine, revised by Symeon Metaphrastes, that mirrors the ambivalence of Byzantine attitudes toward women: the heathen emperor Maxentius discusses the problems of faith with Catherine in Alexandria (*sic*); failing to convince her of the advantages of paganism, he organizes her debate with fifty rhetoricians. The disputants gather, confident in their art, and one of them exclaims: "What does a woman know about the profession of rhetoric!"⁷⁹ The phrase could be interpreted as patriarchal disdain of feminine intelligence, but the case is not as simple as it seems. First of all, Symeon omits the boastful sentence of the rhetorician who ridicules Catherine's desire to overturn all the rhetorical τεχνολογία even though she is unfamiliar with the vocabulary of the rhetoricians. Then he inserts the phrase crucial for our purpose: when Maxentius dispatched his encyclical to convene the disputants, he, says Metaphrastes,⁸⁰ pretended or claimed (προσποιησάμενος) that it was beneath his dignity (ἀνάξιον) to dispute with a woman. Symeon understood that a Byzantine man would assert that to compete with a woman in a rhetorical disputation was beneath his dignity, but in fact neither Maxentius nor Metaphrastes himself thought so; for Catherine won the dispute and even converted fifty skillful rhetoricians to her creed.

An exceptional case is presented in a document of the late Byzantine period. A contract of 1364, regulating relations between a [widow?] Irene Drymouchaine and her son-in-law, graphically demonstrates the power of a Byzantine woman in her own house. According to this contract, the "lady" Irene "accepted" (λαμβάνει) her son-in-law Theodore, together with her own daughter Mary, on the following conditions: they would stay under the same roof and get the same meals, but Irene would remain "the lady and hostess" until her death; she would be free to run the house as she found desirable for her spiritual salvation. The "children," however, retained the exclusive right to her inheritance.⁸¹

WOMEN'S COSTUME

The history of Byzantine costume is still to be written and will be difficult to write. With the exception of some Coptic textiles, few material remnants have survived, and Byzantine art provides us mostly with conventional images of imperial or court attire. By no means do I claim to present here a comprehensive characterization of the dress of Byzantine women;⁸² the only question I dare raise is the relationship between male and female costume.

The Byzantines distinguished between the costume of men and women; John Chry-

⁷⁹BHG 32, ed. PG 116:284c; the phrase is copied from an earlier martyrion: J. Viteau, *Passions des saints Écatérine et Pierre d'Alexandrie, Barbara et Anysia* (Paris, 1897), 11.15.

⁸⁰PG 116:281c.

⁸¹G. Ferrari dalle Spade, "Registro Vaticano di atti bizantini di diritto privato," *SBN* 4 (1935), 264, no. VII.

⁸²Koukoules, Βίος, II.2:9f, devoted a single page to the particularities of the feminine garment. See also the paragraph "Women's Dress in the Transition Period" in M. G. Houston, *Ancient Greek, Roman and Byzantine Costume* (London, 1947), 130–34. For the discovery of a woman's caftan of Byzantine origin(?) in Birka, see I. Hägg, *Kvinmodräkten i Birka* (Uppsala, 1974), 110.

sostom, for example, insisted that men should not put on women's clothing.⁸³ Around the ninth century, Achmet discussed dreams in which men appeared dressed as women and vice versa;⁸⁴ this paragraph, however, is titled "From the Persians," and we cannot be sure that the author was describing genuine Byzantine habits. "Criminals" condemned to the parade of infamy might be dressed in female garb: according to Symeon Metaphrastes, Emperor Maximian ordered women's garments (specifically identified as women's κολῳβία) to be put on Sergios and Bacchos,⁸⁵ and in the eleventh century Theophilos Erotikos was paraded in the Hippodrome in feminine attire.⁸⁶ Andronikos Komnenos refused to put on feminine garb to escape from his mistress's tent since he was afraid of being caught and humiliated, but sometime later he fled from a prison disguised as a woman.⁸⁷ A distinction between male and female costume was evident to the Byzantine eye, but to what extent was it substantial?

Ph. Koukoules has already shown that the terminology of men's and women's costume was similar. The will of the nun Mary mentions two principal terms for her cloak, ἱμάτιον and μανδύας, which reappear in the treatise of Pseudo-Kodinos as the elements of the dress of the dowager empress.⁸⁸ Both terms are commonly used for men's garments as well. Niketas of Amnia, the author of the *vita* of Philaretos the Merciful, narrates a story that demonstrates how conventional was the distinction between men's and women's dress: Philaretos gave away to a poor man his *himation* (*chiton*, in another version); when he returned home, in his underwear, his wife took her own στιχάριον, recut it in "the man's manner," and gave it to her husband.⁸⁹ The word *sticharion*, however, normally designated a man's tunic, particularly a vestment of deacons, priests, and bishops. A similar episode is narrated in the *vita* of Mary the Younger:⁹⁰ as Mary's corpse was being prepared for burial, her husband ordered that his *chiton* be recut into a female one and put on his dead wife. *Chiton* was a garment worn by men and women alike. *Kolobia*, in which Sergios and Bacchos were garbed for the parade of infamy, are usually identified as dalmatics, and were also worn by men. Even the *maphorion*, a distinctive element of feminine costume covering the head and shoulders, could serve as an item of apparel for the *praepositus* of the Senate,⁹¹ and monks could wear *maphoria* as well.

The will of the nun Mary lists several other items of costume: σάγιον (mentioned also in the will of Gemma) could also be used by men; βηλάριον designated a piece of textile, sometimes cotton, χάσδιον velvet, and φακιόλιον a head covering. The marital contract of Eudokia, which enumerates other elements of feminine attire, is in Hebrew, but the terms for clothing are mostly of Latin origin (*pallium*, *sacculus*, *sudarion*); on the other

⁸³ PG 61:216.39–40.

⁸⁴ Achmes, *Oneyrocriticon*, ed. F. Drexler (Leipzig, 1925), 218.

⁸⁵ BHG 1625, ed. PG 115:1009CD.

⁸⁶ Ioannes Scylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. I. Thurn (Berlin-New York, 1973), 429.13–17.

⁸⁷ NikChon, 105.59–60, 196.69–70.

⁸⁸ Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, ed. J. Verpeaux (Paris, 1966), 261.2–3.

⁸⁹ Fourmy and Leroy, "La vie" (as above, note 7), 135.13–23; the term *chiton* is used once in this story. Another version, Vasiliev, "Zhitie" (as above, note 7), 74.9–17, also uses the term *chiton*.

⁹⁰ BHG 1164, ed. AASS, Nov. 4:697A. See English trans. by A. Laiou, in *Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation*, ed. A.-M. Talbot, Byzantine Saints' Lives in Translation 1 (Washington, D.C., 1996), 267.

⁹¹ *De Ceremoniis aulae byzantinae*, ed. J. Reiske, I (Bonn, 1829), 529.20–22.

hand, the term for an item of headgear, *entrichin* ("wig"), seems to have originated from Greek.

The theme of a woman entering a male monastery in disguise is common in Byzantine hagiography, predominantly in the earlier centuries.⁹² When their transvestism was discovered, the only problem of costume that arose was the headgear, not the dress. When the gender of the fifth-century St. Matrona of Perge was revealed, the abbot asked her how she, a woman, dared to approach the holy eucharist with her head uncovered (as men would do), and Matrona described to him the trick she used to avoid discovery and at the same time to comply with the prohibition imposed on women: she claimed to suffer from a headache and raised her pallium over her head.⁹³ If we believe Arethas of Caesarea, the tenth-century emperor Alexander tried to eliminate this discriminatory tradition: he initiated a new custom of entering church with covered head.⁹⁴ This was a rule that referred to men, since women had always been supposed to cover their heads in church, and not in church only: the hagiographer of the late Roman saint Pelagia emphasized that the heroine, in her youth, was so shameless that she did not even use a light veil (θήρισιτρον) to cover her head.⁹⁵ The habit of covering the face continued for centuries: Anna Komnene, describing the dramatic flight of the female members of the Comnenian clan in 1081, narrates how one of them, while talking with the envoys of the emperor, raised up the linen veil (ὀθόνη) that was covering her face.⁹⁶ But in Byzantium not only women covered their faces; according to Eustathios of Thessalonike, the custom of monks was similar. He relates that monks in public places usually masked the upper half of their faces with a black hood (μέλαν παραπέτασμα), but it would quickly be raised above eye level, if the veiled man spotted any indecency worthy of observation.⁹⁷ Male and female hairstyles seem to be different; in any event, Zonaras criticizes men who imitated women in order to beautify the hair on their heads.⁹⁸

Probably the most distinctive masculine item of costume (if we discount the lack of a veil or headgear and jewelry) was trousers. Mentions of them are relatively common in Greek sources of the twelfth century,⁹⁹ but both Eustathios of Thessalonike and Niketas Choniates speak of trousers with derision, and it is possible that the custom of wearing pants was limited to a narrow group of mounted warriors. The belt was evidently a typical element of Byzantine official "male" costume, the *zoste patrikia* being the single female exception.

In other words, we again encounter typically Byzantine terminological contradiction: while the main elements of costume (cloak = *himation* or *mandyas*; tunic = *kolobion* or *sticharion*) were almost identical for men and women, the headgear and especially hairstyles were distinct, and trousers were characteristic only of a limited social category.

⁹²E. Patlagean, "L'histoire de la femme déguisée en moine et l'évolution de la sainteté féminine à Byzance," *StMed* 17 (1976), 597–623, repr. in her *Structure sociale, famille, chrétienté* (London, 1981), no. XI.

⁹³BHG 1221, ed. AASS, Nov. 3:794B; English trans. by J. Featherstone and C. Mango in *Holy Women*, ed. Talbot, 26.

⁹⁴Arethas, *Scripta minora*, ed. L. G. Westerink, I (Leipzig, 1968), 90.27.

⁹⁵B. Flusin, in *Pélagie la Pénitente: Métamorphoses d'une légende*, ed. P. Petitmengin, I (Paris, 1981), 79.36–37.

⁹⁶Anne Comnène, *Alexiade* II:5.8, ed. B. Leib, I (Paris, 1967), 78.29.

⁹⁷Eustathius, *Opuscula*, ed. G. L. F. Tafel (Frankfurt, 1832), 250.39–46.

⁹⁸PG 137:848BC.

⁹⁹Data are gathered in Kazhdan and Wharton Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture*, 76f.

CONCLUSION

Women's activity within the house encompasses several spheres. We have seen that the Byzantine stereotype made the mother the principal educator of children, male and female alike. It is also possible to surmise that women were responsible for cleaning the house. We may expect that women were responsible for washing clothes,¹⁰⁰ but men occasionally shared in this chore; at any rate, during the late Roman period outside the city walls of Emesa, Symeon the Fool saw ten men washing their *himatia*.¹⁰¹ Women were the cooks for the household and even cooked food to sell at market. The hagiographer of Nikon the Metanoieite relates how a woman kneaded barley cakes at home, while her daughter helped by carrying water from a nearby well;¹⁰² the story has a double significance, showing as well that younger, unmarried women of the lower class moved freely outside the house. Among the items given to Eudokia by her marriage contract are kitchen utensils—a cauldron, a dish, a basin—all designated in the document by Hebrew words of Greek origin: κακκάβιν, λεβήτιν, λεκάνιν. A λεκάνη appears in the will of Gemma as well. But again, a man could possess the same kind of kitchen utensils; at any rate, the will of Skaranos lists two κακαβόπουλα (small cauldrons), several ἐπιβαλάρια (basins), a copper vessel (χάλκομα), and some other objects of unclear meaning, before it moves on to agricultural implements.

The image of the housewife or young girl spinning, weaving, and making cloth was a *topos* of Byzantine literature throughout the centuries.¹⁰³ John Moschos relates a beautiful novelette about a young virgin who became an object of Satanic desire: a man who loved her would stay all day outside her house so that she could not go to church. She sent a maid to him, invited the man inside her house (obviously Moschos did not know that Byzantine virgins were supposed to live in strict confinement), and asked him why he kept her from going out. When the man explained that he loved her, she then asked him again: "What do you find in me so beautiful that makes you love me so passionately?" "Your eyes," he answered. The girl was sitting at the loom (ἱστάριον), so she took the weaver's shuttle (κερκίδιον) and gouged out both her eyes.¹⁰⁴ Later, the ninth-century saint Athanasia of Aegina was working at the loom (ἱστός) when she saw a vision,¹⁰⁵ and Gemma, whose will I have mentioned several times, was also involved in weaving: in her will she stipulates that skeins of wool she possessed should be given to a weaver to make a textile for a church; another clause is even more interesting, for Gemma bequeathed her loom not to a woman, but to men, the sons of her relative Leo.¹⁰⁶

The data I have presented are scanty and chronologically not homogeneous. They

¹⁰⁰ Koukoules, Βίος, II.2:203.

¹⁰¹ BHG 1677, ed. Leontios of Neapolis, *Vie de Syméon le Fou et Vie de Jean de Chypre*, ed. A. J. Festugière and L. Rydén (Paris, 1974), 97.16.

¹⁰² BHG 1366, ed. D. Sullivan, *The Life of Saint Nikon* (Brookline, Mass., 1987), 98, par. 27.1–4. On a 13th-century case involving a young woman who drew water from a spring where a Vlach sexually assaulted her, see A. Laiou, "Sex, Consent, and Coercion in Byzantium," in *Consent and Coercion to Sex and Marriage in Ancient and Medieval Society* (Washington, D.C., 1993), 165f.

¹⁰³ Laiou, "The Role of Women," 243f.

¹⁰⁴ PG 87:2913AB.

¹⁰⁵ BHG 180, ed. F. Halkin, *Six inédits d'hagiologie byzantine* (Brussels, 1987), 180.17–18. English trans. by L. Sherry in *Holy Women*, ed. Talbot, 142.

¹⁰⁶ Robinson, *History and Cartulary*, doc. IV, 53.77–79.

are not sufficient for a persuasive conclusion, but they allow us to raise the question whether there was a drastic difference between men and women within the household. I am inclined to answer this question negatively; at any rate, I was unable to discover separate dwellings in a regular house or separate kinds of utensils or strictly separate types of economic activity; even the clothing was more similar than not, with only insignificant distinctions. Certainly, the situation of women in Byzantium underwent alterations as time went on: there were periods of improvement and of decline of the social status of women. The chronological aspect of the problem of women's household activity needs a special investigation, but at the moment it seems that one of the periods of their improved circumstances was the most "military" Comnenian century: in Byzantium, as probably in the West, chivalric ideology led to a growing respect for women rather than worsening of their status. Certainly throughout all of Byzantine history there were cases of male violence, of rape, of male sexual chauvinism, but it is still to be proven that Byzantine women lived in a harem and were abused at every step as one would expect in a paradigmatic (but not real) "patriarchal" and "military" society.

Dumbarton Oaks